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Virkelighetskrim

(_sjanger) Krim “fra virkeligheten”. Også kalt krimdokumentar(-film, -bok osv.). En “real crime story” eller “true crime” med dokumentarisk innhold fra en forbrytelse som har funnet sted i virkeligheten. Gjenfortelling av forbrytelser og strafferettstilfeller som faktisk har foregått. Det kan dreie seg om bøker, filmer/TV-serier, tidsskriftartikler, tegneserier, blogger og andre nettsteder m.m.

Også kalt “pitaval”, etter den franske juristen og forfatteren François Gayot de Pitaval, som ga ut boka *Berømte og interessante kriminalsaker* i 1734. Pitaval var advokat i Paris, og henvendte seg med sine bøker både til jurister og til allmennheten (Bohnsack og Foltin 1999 s. 113). Til sammen ga han ut 20 bind med berømte krimsaker. I en pitaval er det samlet historier om ekte krimsaker (Baier 2005). En moderne pitaval er George Henry Barrows *Celebrated trials and remarkable cases of criminal jurisprudence from the earliest records to the year 1825* (1825).

“True crime literature is defined by Cameron (1990, p. 131) as “the narrative presentation of real-life criminal cases for mass entertainment.” Rawlings (1998) has described the wide range of true crime material as “popular criminology”. Rawlings traces the origins of true crime back to the criminal biographies of the late seventeenth century” (Shiona McArthur i Boran 2002 s. 75). Sjangeren har ofte et “sensationalist focus on shock and emotion” (Joy Wiltenburg i <https://watermark.silverchair.com/109-5-1377.pdf>; lesedato 05.08.19).

“The true crime book is not an armchair mystery that asks for the identity of the criminal in the vein of Miss Marple or Sherlock Holmes, but a narrative consulted in order to learn the reason why.” (Frost 2015) “Cameron (1990) cites readers’ letters to true crime magazines, which state that they have lost their taste for crime fiction since discovering true crime.” (Shiona McArthur i Boran 2002 s. 77)

I artikkelen “True Crime” skriver P. Rawlings om det skremmende ved virkelighetskrim: “if one monster can arise out of such ordinariness, why not others?” (Boran 2002 s. 81). Her siktes det til skildringer av “normale” mennesker som begår grufulle overgrep. Noen lesere er spesielt fascinert av seriemordere

“who had no motive apart from the desire to mutilate and destroy, usually women” (Boran 2002 s. 74).

“While sexual scandals and other shocking events have become staples of modern sensationalism, its chief focus has always been crime, especially the most bloody and horrifying of murders.” (Joy Wiltenburg i <https://watermark.silverchair.com/109-5-1377.pdf>; lesedato 05.08.19) “Violent crime, especially murder, strikes at the very core of our humanity and is therefore fascinating, dramatic and entertaining.” (Danielle M. Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

“American culture still has a need for such tales, since the crime genre addresses concerns of chaos and fear and reminds readers that the law triumphs and that sin will out. True crime exists as a genre because of this need for reassurance in the form of the restoration ritual. [...] the crime genre has always worked to reassure audiences and restore order. [...] the true crime genre, which, after all, works to reassure readers that all criminals are caught and all women are capable of avoiding a similar fate.” (Frost 2015)

“Så hvorfor er vi så tiltrukket av True Crime-sjangeren? Enkelte peker på at engasjementet handler om vår interesse for å løse gåter og leke detektiver fra sofaen eller lesestolen. Professor i Kriminologi ved Drew Universitet i USA, Scott Bonn, har forsket på sjangeren og skrevet boken “Why We Love Serial Killers”. [...] Bonn mener at vår fascinasjon for sjangeren blant annet handler om grunnleggende følelser. - Den euforiske effekten som det å se på True Crime har på menneskelige følelser kan sammenliknes med en berg og dalbane, og med å beskue naturkatastrofer. Begge deler utløser adrenalin, og adrenalin er avhengighetsdannende. Fascinasjonen for seriemordere er delvis basert på vårt behov for å forstå hvorfor noen kan gjøre så grusomme ting mot et ukjent menneske. Mennesker blir også tiltrukket av True Crime fordi det trigger den mest grunnleggende og mektigste følelsen i oss alle: frykt. Sjangeren gir oss mulighet til å oppleve frykt og skrekk i et kontrollert miljø hvor trusselen er skummel, men ikke virkelig. Historier om virkelige mordere er for voksne det monsterfilmer er for barn. True Crime er “guilty pleasure” for spenningssøkende voksne” (<https://bokelskerinnen.com/2016/10/true-crime-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 02.01.19).

Virkelighetskrim er en form for underholdning, og underholdningsaspektet betyr at “medierne deltagere i bedøvelsen af den smerte, de formidler.” (Richard 2010)

“[T]he sort of case which attracts a book publisher is likely to involve a large-scale crime, a gang, a mass or serial murderer (McClaren 1993), a murderer who has been freed and has killed again (Holden 1974, Young 1973), or, perhaps, a murderer who almost got away with it (Caffell 1994, Wilkes 1994). Of the Moors murders one writer remarked, ‘what was special about this case, especially sinister was that in the dock was a woman, a woman accused of killing children. It defied

comprehension' (Ritchie 1993: 104). Some cases continue to fascinate, while others fade from the publishers' lists. A current case may lead to a book reviewing similar earlier cases: presumably the Bulger murder prompted Jones's (1994) *Murderous Innocents: True Stories of Children who Kill*, as the execution of Ruth Ellis had led publishers to hurry out books on women who had been hanged" (Rawlings 1995).

"Collections have also been themed around:

- types of murder victims: children (Jones 1994), police officers (Cobb 1961);
- types of offenders: women (Huggett and Berry 1956, Jones 1985, Nash 1981);
- types of victims and offenders: lovers (Gribble 1954), royalty (Alexander 1978, MacNalty 1955), the ruling classes (Bleackley 1905), doctors, including the oddly-titled *One Hundred Years of Medical Murder* (Camp 1982; also Dewes 1962);
- methods of murder: poison, such as Farrell's (1994) *Poisons and Poisoners: An Encyclopedia of Homicidal Poisonings* (see also Eaton 1924, Gaute and Odell 1972, Rowland 1960), serial murders, such as *The Encyclopedia of Serial Killers* (Lane and Gregg 1992), and 'accidental' murders (Church 1989);
- locations of crime (usually murder): including a book to place alongside Egon Ronay's restaurant guides and designed for the murder-trail tourist, Tribballs' (1993) *The Murder Guide to Great Britain*; there are also regional guides, such as Lane's *The Murder Club Guide to South-west England and Wales* (Lane 1989; also Lane 1991) and various county histories of crime (Briffett 1990, Fielding 1994a, Green 1990, Harrison 1992, Murphy 1988, Yarwood 1991); histories of crime in cities in general (Sanders 1958) and particular cities, such as *Square Mile of Murder* about Glasgow (House 1961), *Murder and Mayhem in Birkenhead 1830-1930* (Malcolm [...]) and the rather unfortunately titled *Murderous Bolton* (Fielding 1994b);
- cases featured in particular branches of the media: the *Illustrated London News* (West 1994), the BBC's *Crimewatch* programme (Mills 1994) and Channel 4's *Trial and Error* (Jessel 1994);
- particular police forces: mostly Scotland Yard, with stirring titles such as *Great Manhunters of the Yard* (Gribble 1966) and *Triumphs of Scotland Yard* (Gribble 1955; see also Ambler 1978, Dilnot 1933, Felstead 1951, Gosling 1959, Honeycombe 1982, 1993; McKnight 1967, Thomson 1936, Waddell 1993, Williams 1973);
- methods of solving crime (Paul 1990, Thorwald 1965);

- miscarriages of justice (Brome 1971, Cobb 1962, Jessel 1994, and a collection in which the writer seeks to prove that innocent people are not convicted – Fielding 1958); and

- executions, such as Fielding's (1994c) *The Hangman's Record*. Finally, publishers have also produced themed series, such as William Hodge's *Notable British Trials and Notable Scottish Trials*, and Jarrolds' *Old Bailey Trials*." (Rawlings 1995)

“[D]et finnes tre hovedkategorier *true crime*-fortellinger: Uskyldig dømt, skyldig på frifot, og den mistenktes egne bekjennelser. Felles for dem er som regel en intens oppmerksomhet på detaljer, obskure bevis og *larger than life*-karakterer. [...] Endeløs terping på klokkeslett og centimetre og telefonlogger gjør seeren til medetterforsker.” (Bernhard Ellefsen i *Morgenbladet* 17.–23. juli 2015 s. 29)

“As a subgenre of true crime, historical true crime is gaining popularity.” (Ann Marie Ackermann i <https://www.annmarieackermann.com/historical-true-crime-books/>; lesedato 25.09.19) Ackermann tror lesere som er interessert i en historisk periode, kan fascineres av virkelighetskrim fra perioden, og historiene er mindre sensasjonalistiske hvis de tilhører en fjern fortid. Dessuten er tidligere tiders etterforskningsmetoder lettere å forstå enn den vitenskapsbaserte i vår tid.

“Another sub-genre seeks to establish that what had previously been assumed to be an accidental death was, in fact, murder: for example, it has been claimed that Brian Jones, a former guitarist with the Rolling Stones who died in his swimming pool in 1966, was murdered [...] a separate literature has developed in which writers seek to solve unsolved crimes [...] books which challenge convictions (but see Fielding 1958 for the view that the courts do not wrongly convict), and often offer new suspects. [...] Less frequently, writers challenge acquittals (Archer 1971, Ryan 1989, and, uniquely, a book by a trial judge, Devlin 1985). Others seek to uphold the correctness of an acquittal (Hoskins 1984, Rowland 1963).” (Rawlings 1995)

“Usually, the writer claims to have new evidence or techniques not available to the police at the time. An early example is Stapleton's (1861) book on the murder of Savile Kent in 1860. Occasionally, writers find no solution, and turn to the reason why this should be: for instance, Berry-Dee's book on a Brighton double murder in 1986 is highly critical of the police conduct of the investigation (Berry-Dee 1991). [...] expose miscarriages of justice [...] setting the record straight” (Rawlings 1995)

Noen forfattere “promise to delve into the criminal mind, such as La Bern's book on Haigh [John George Haigh, the Yorkshire Acid Bath Murderer], subtitled *The Mind of a Murderer* (La Bern 1973), and Ritchie's book on [Myra] Hindley,

subtitled *Inside the Mind of a Murderess* (Ritchie 1993), although the psychological insights promised do not often emerge.” (Rawlings 1995)

Sjangeren reiser en rekke spørsmål som gjelder personvern og etikk. “Avtroppende riksadvokat Tor-Aksel Busch vil ha mer debatt om kriminalitet som underholdning. Han er særlig skeptisk til dokumentarserien om Orderud-drapene. [...] - Jeg synes det er veldig krevende når alvorlige kriminalsaker blir føljetonger på TV. Jeg skjønner at det kan være god TV, og antagelig ganske billig å produsere. Men det å få tilgang til politimateriale, og dissekere dette i beste sendetid, med tunge personvern hensyn involvert, det diskuteres for lite. [...] - Vi har gått flere omdreininger i amerikansk retning, inspirert av true crime-serier i USA, det er ingen tvil om, sier Busch [...] Busch sier det først og fremst er to ting han reagerer på: Graden av detaljorientering i de norske true crime-seriene, i tillegg til personfokuset. [...] I forbindelse med arbeidet med *Gåten Orderud* fant programskaperne politiets egne opptak fra kårboligen. Opptakene ble aldri vist i de to rettssakene etter drapet, til tross for at de ble etterlyst av forsvarerne til Per og Veronica Orderud. Dokumentarserien som ble vist i fjor høst, ble produsert av Monster, for NRK. Marie Sjø, prosjektredaktør i NRK for serien, tilbakeviser kritikken fra Busch. - I et demokrati er det utrolig viktig med åpenhet rundt den delen av samfunnet som har makt og myndighet. Det at den fjerde statsmakt ettergår den tredje, er en god ting. Det må de tåle. [...] - Dette er en sak som ble voldsomt dekket i sin tid. Vi vurderte det slik at vår serie i sum ga folk flest en veldig god innsikt i politiets arbeid, etterforskning, og hva som foregår i en rettssal. [...] “Fallet Kevin”, om to svenske gutter som ble utpekt som mordere. Guttene ble renavasket som følge av serien.” (https://www.nrk.no/norge/tor-aksel-busch-tar-et-oppgjor-med-true-crime--_vi-har-gatt-i-amerikansk-retning-1.14748811; lesedato 30.10.19)

“I *true crime*-sjangeren blir litterær stil også et spørsmål om etikk [...] Et lykketreff for oss, da, at vi har sakprosaforfattere som i sine egne bøker fremstår som de beste etterforskerne av alle.” (Bjarne Riiser Gundersen i *Morgenbladet* 3.–9. november 2017 s. 56) Den siste formuleringen bør oppfattes som ironisk.

Sjangeren kan påvirke mediebrukeres oppfatning av kriminaliteten i samfunnet. “The images and messages conveyed by these television programs about violent crime, in particular murder, may ultimately influence what viewers come to think about violent crime in terms of its prevalence and nature as well as possible explanations for its occurrence. [...] Comparisons reveal that the media tend to depict the crimes that occur the least in American society (violent crimes), while neglecting the crimes that occur the most (property crimes) [...] several authors have contended that the media may be an important source of crime myths or false beliefs about crime (Pepinsky and Jesilow 1984; Wright 1985; Kappeler, Blumberg and Potter 1993; Fabianic 1997) and evidence suggests that media consumers may be influenced by these media myths. Lewis (1981), for example, reports that those who watch television the most have the most distorted views of crime.” (Danielle

M. Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

“[T]elevision murder presentations support Miethe and McCorkle’s (1998) observation that television crime dramas tend to give the impression that most murders are meticulously planned. Indeed, the over-emphasis on planned murders on television masks the spontaneity of real-life murder, which is often the result of an argument or dispute or fuelled by alcohol and/or drugs. [...] more people are killed not by the hands of other people but through corporate wrongdoing such as pollution, industrial accidents and unsafe working conditions (Reiman 1998).” (Danielle M. Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

“The narrative voice, influenced by the American crime writing style, is always that of an investigating officer. [...] The consumer is addressed as a privileged knowing subject, that is, as someone who is something of an expert on murder and violent crime. The detail and technical terminology used flatters the readers by implying they are being addressed as fellow experts. This narrative form allies the reader with the representative of law and order, the detective, by disclosing copious gory details (verbal and visual) denied the casual newspaper reader. [...] consumers of true crime can wallow in salacious, “pornographic” depictions of (often) sexualised violence, while remaining immune from accusations of prurience.” (Shiona McArthur i Boran 2002 s. 77-78)

Virkelighetskrim har ofte framstillinger som “link sexual pleasure with transgression and death”; “In true crime, then, readers can linger over salacious details of horrific crimes, even gain illicit sexual pleasure from their representation under the guise of education and morality. Further to Cameron’s point (1990 [artikkelen “Pleasure and danger, sex and death: Reading true crime monthlies”]), it is possible to argue that true crime is consumed in the same way as pornography. Consumers, in seeking some kind of closure/resolution that is unavailable, keep coming back for more of the same. It is in this way that consumption of true crime mirrors consumption of pornography; consumers know what to expect in terms of style, content and form. Pornography represents a sexual event; true crime represents a (violent) crime. Both are concerned with bodies and what happens to them; characters, location, plot and style are all irrelevant. The scenario is repeated endlessly, but without satisfaction; there is no return to a state of grace or restoration of order. There are no answers as to why the events took place and no insight into the motivation of the villain and or hero (true crime, after all, is not fiction nor is it sociology, criminology or psychology!). All we have are descriptions of events, which we are invited to witness, to be horrified by, even to be aroused by, but not to understand.” (Shiona McArthur i Boran 2002 s. 80-81) “True crime cannot explain the motivation of the killer; the riddle is not solved; the horror is presented for us to witness, but not to understand.” (Shiona McArthur i Boran 2002 s. 83). “The ideology of true crime undermines the restoration of order.

[...] true crime's need for moral certainty rests on the ideology of the inevitability and individualised nature of crime." (Shiona McArthur i Boran 2002 s. 80)

Forbrytere framstilt i massemediene "are thought to commit crimes because of greed, jealousy, emotional instability, mental pathology, and other individual defects or weaknesses (Barrile 1984; Estep and MacDonald 1984; Maguire 1988; Cavender and Bond-Maupin 1993; Fabianic 1997). Cavender and Bond-Maupin (1993), for example, report that criminals, as presented in the media, are dangerous people with ambiguous psychological capacities – in essence, "crazed killers" and "psychopaths". In this way, criminality is viewed as the failure of an individual who is morally weak or mentally deficient. Indeed, Maguire (1988) reports that social explanations are almost entirely absent from crime and police dramas, with a heavy emphasis on conservative and individualistic explanations that center around individual pathology. [...] little or no effort is made in these crime dramas to relate homicide to social-structural or institutional forces. [...] Expressive motives are those that derive mainly from emotional responses or psychological reactions such as anger, jealousy, resentment, frustration, fear, love or general dislike. Instrumental motives derive from a desire to obtain some personal goal or end such as money or status enhancement. Murderers may also be motivated by some mental illness or defect that essentially controls their responses to situations." (Danielle M. Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

"The preoccupation with motives, whether expressive, instrumental or the result of mental illness, calls attention to the individualistic nature of most popular explanations of crime which tend to locate the "cause" of criminal behavior within the individual; that is, people commit crimes because of something uniquely inside them – a feeling of jealousy, a biological deficiency, an emotional instability, or some desire to achieve a personal goal. Motives, by their very nature, are individualistic. Everybody who commits murder commits it for a uniquely different reason, although there may be some commonality across motives. The tendency of the popular justice programs analyzed to focus on and even highlight particular motives detracts away from theoretical explanations of criminal behavior that go beyond individualistic explanations to include more encompassing sociological explanations." (Danielle M. Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

"Barrile (1984) contends that individualistic explanations of crime reduce crime to "a personal trouble", thereby successfully avoiding the sociological causes of crime such as poverty, unemployment, discrimination, judicial bias, classism and racism. These structural explanations are not only more complex, but they may be better predictors of individual criminality. [...] policies created to solve the problem of violence may be inadequate if they reflect media-inspired individualistic explanations, which advance the solution to crime as a matter of adjusting individual personalities rather than altering the social structure." (Danielle M.

Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

“[P]roducers and scriptwriters see little entertainment value in including more sociologically-based explanations in their program content. [...] the central issue in an episode of *The Practice* highlights the powerful/powerless distinction often at work in the legal system. Here, Rebecca Washington defends an indigenous young man, Ronny Vaga, who confesses to a hit-and-run homicide. It is suggested that real estate tycoon, Teddy Barrington, is actually paying Vaga to say that he was driving to prevent being exposed as the one who, under the influence of alcohol, hit and killed the woman. Not only does this point out that the rich and powerful can use their money to avoid criminal prosecution but also that the poor and powerless are willing to take the fall.” (Danielle M. Soulliere i <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/ff74/a207b91196d71d48147a922ae9b8227b87ea.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

“Contemporary true crime authors, especially those writing during or after the boom of the 1980s, find themselves writing within a rather constrained genre that comes with specific expectations of plot, detail, and orientation to its subjects, but one important element of the true crime genre [...] the triumph of justice through a verdict, if not confession, and a proper sentence of life in prison or removal to death row. The author’s combination of representing victims in the past and at a distance to the reader, while keeping the criminal himself immediate and in the present, necessitates this final element so that order might be restored and audiences may be reassured that, now as then, the crime will out, and justice will be served. [...] the criminal must be caught by the end of the book in order to maintain the genre’s sense of restored order and continued reassurance of safety. [...] The vast majority of true crime narratives identify, catch, and neutralize the criminal, thus restoring order to the community. [...] criminals must be apprehended and neutralized, but only after all reasonable doubt has been removed. Just as escaped or unidentified criminals threaten the stable nature of society and the trustworthiness of the justice system, so do wrongly sentenced innocents. [...] There must be a reason why certain members of society break both law and taboo, and any explanation – from religious mania to madness to a troubled childhood – comforts and reassures readers that that these are special circumstances, not likely to occur with anyone the readers knows personally, a distancing tactic that is inherent to the contemporary genre of true crime.” (Frost 2015)

“The body discovery scene functions as the hook to intrigue the reader, and the narrative often moves into the criminal’s biography [...] The criminal is lit from all sides by stories from his childhood in an attempt to construct a linear narrative from birth to crime that provides an explanation for how a child might grow up to commit such atrocities. This narrative of the criminal concentrates on the moments that were perceived to have had the most impact on the criminal’s personality and sense of morality, and is thus leveled and sharpened to highlight these instances while dismissing the more mundane life events. [...] Twentieth-century crime

narratives not only made space for discussions of motive, guilt, and the underlying causes of the criminal's behavior, but also created space for the author to gain more control of the narrative construction and the presentation of the events, not only of the trial or the crime, but of the criminal's life. [...] true crime of the twentieth century looks very different from previous crime narratives, in thanks partly to developing methods of publication and distribution, and partly because of developments in fields such as medicine or psychology." (Frost 2015)

"[I]t would seem that authors who do not comply with generic expectations will merely disappoint the already-established true crime audience, and thus would fail to sell. [...] The author's authority in representing the moment of the crime, especially murder, comes partially through the research that author purports to have conducted. [...] these books and their authors advertised their ability to "go behind the headlines." One means of offering audiences more information was to emphasize the author's relationship with the subject, implying that the criminal has revealed more to the author than has been printed elsewhere. [...] whatever had been presented in court was only the beginning of the story." (Frost 2015)

"Murderers, unlike their victims, may well be alive for authors to meet and interview in order to uncover information that can be incorporated into the narrative as motive. In this aspect the author must be careful about speculation, since "the plot of the historical narrative ... has to be presented as 'found' in the events rather than put there by narrative techniques," but the evolution and popularity of twentieth century true crime has, with the evolution of psychology, developed a number of biographical elements that are expected, or at least accepted, as explanations for why a criminal became a criminal (White 24). The question of motive [...] now requires a more complex answer, supported by experts in their fields." (Frost 2015)

"With guilt and motive in question, not only did authors have to begin to piece together a single, "true" narrative from the given testimony, but they also needed to present scientific knowledge shared by experts with the common public. As medical knowledge advanced, autopsies and autopsy reports became common occurrences after suspicious deaths, and all manner of medical personnel who had contact with the body were called upon to present their findings. As the twentieth century progressed toward the true crime boom in the 1980s, the practice of calling upon expert witnesses became more established, and many witnesses, either of their own volition or through examination, simplified their testimony for the average citizen who does not hold a medical degree. Authors may choose to quote this testimony, summarize it, or further explain or emphasize salient points – all moves that direct the narrative for the audience in order to steer readers toward opinions of guilt or innocence. Authors can further frame the testimony of experts by undercutting or emphasizing their ethos, using these methods to encourage readers to trust the experts whose testimony agrees with the trial outcome, while creating doubt about the opposing viewpoint. While the medical experts generally offer

testimony of evidence that leads to the criminal's identification and capture, experts in psychology tend to work alongside the accused's friends and family – those who have chosen to remain loyal to the accused, despite the charges – to explore the criminal's motive. In the negative, a psychologist might diagnose a criminal with a disorder that means the criminal should be removed from society for safety's sake. In the positive, testimony might present elements from the criminal's biography that lead toward lenience in sentencing by creating a narrative of childhood abuse, deprivation, or abandonment that led to the criminal act. When presented in this way, the argument is not for innocence, but for understanding.” (Frost 2015)

“True crime narrates the events in such a way that it becomes important to know the criminal and relate to him on some level, if not completely, so that readers might be made aware that such criminals exist and be able to recognize them if they should encounter any. Because of the official narrative that criminals can be anticipated through childhood behavior and that certain childhood acts or occurrences are indications that someone may tend toward violence, the background of an accused criminal becomes important as evidence of its own. Authors may shape this testimony in such a way as to frame it as evidence of a violent personality and reason for severe punishment, or as an explanation for the violent act in an attempt to gain more empathy and secure a less severe punishment.” (Frost 2015)

“In order to conform to generic expectations, true crime must cover several steps, such as opening with a crime; the criminal's biography, with a focus on his parents and any romantic relationships; descriptions of the crimes and crime scenes; the legal pursuit of the criminal, including expert testimony; and the trial and outcome. The narrative is generally presented in this order as well, identifying the criminal after the initial hook, since the criminal's identity is rarely a mystery. Most contemporary true crime narratives are presented as giving the audience the story behind the name, rather than revealing the criminal's identity.” (Frost 2015)

“Within these criminal biographies, authors often look for the cause of criminal behavior within childhood, developing the argument of nature versus nurture in such a way that reassures audiences that they themselves will not raise such criminal monsters. Parents are fully investigated, with mothers as more of a target for blame – when fathers are found guilty, it is for their absence, not their presence. The circumstances of birth are noted, especially in cases similar to Ted Bundy or Charles Manson. Each was born outside of marriage and, for the first few years of life, believed that their grandparents were their parents, while their mothers were presented as their older sisters. Each was then told the truth and taken away from his (grand)parents, to be raised solely by his sister-mother in a new city. Jeffrey Dahmer, on the other hand, was raised by both parents, although his father was distant and his mother either too cruel or too concerned with her own physical and mental health to pay much attention to him. When his parents divorced, Dahmer was already nearly finished with high school, and his parents argued over custody

of his younger brother, but not Dahmer. [...] Family members generally incur blame for how they raised the criminal, while friends are grilled in order to determine whether someone should have noticed something “wrong” with the criminal, even at a young age. Was the criminal a loner or did he have a small group of friends? Did he play with them outside of school or was he isolated in his own home? Should someone – if not his classmates, at least his teachers – have noticed the warning signs? Perhaps most importantly: were there warning signs? This close examination of childhood, present in many contemporary true crime accounts, attempts to reassure audiences on two counts: first, that they can avoid these parental failures that lead to a criminal lifestyle; and second, that they would be able to recognize the budding criminal in other children.” (Frost 2015)

“At times the lead detective might be represented as a hero for breaking the case and securing the arrest of a dangerous criminal. At other times the lead detective only succeeds by disobeying orders and pursuing a hunch that luckily plays out. In other narratives, there is no one single person responsible for an arrest, but an array of officers who managed to piece together all of their information and work together.” (Frost 2015)

“Murder in hot blood, caused by anger and directed at the source of this anger, is perhaps more universally relatable and understandable. The murder of strangers, especially when these murders are cold and calculating, allowing the criminal to return to his daily life undetected between these acts, is more foreign, and thus more intriguing.” (Frost 2015)

Noen ofre for forbrytelser blir nesten “usynlige”, bl.a. fordi de lever i ytterkantene av samfunnet, for eksempel som hjemløse. Deres usynlighet som ofre skyldes at de er “verdiløse” for fellesskapet, og det kan blir framstilt som nesten selvforskyldt at de utsettes for vold og andre overgrep. “Steven A. Egger, professor of criminology at University of Houston-Clear Lake, proposes that murderers, especially serial killers, prefer to pick from “a devalued stratum of humanity” that includes transients such as the homeless, runaways, and prostitutes (Egger 80). Egger argues that such victims, having been “less-alive” during life, become “less-dead” or perhaps even “never-were” after their deaths. [...] While care may be taken to describe the criminal’s troubled childhood and to provide the reader with an explanation for his violent acts, the victim’s life remains purely evidence and is not meant to sway emotions or perceptions. Instead of an explanation meant to gain empathy, the victim’s biography is presented in such a way that readers “come to see the behavior of victims, their lifestyles, as the central factor in their demise” (Egger 81). Because the audience does not relate to the “less-dead” or respond when such people are threatened, this allows the criminal, the serial killer in particular, to continue to prey on the “less-dead,” helped along by the determined way in which society ignores the disappearance of transient populations deemed distasteful to have around.” (Frost 2015)

“True crime plays a large role in orienting contemporary audiences towards criminals and victims, and – although the genre has gone through cosmetic changes over the centuries – still works to restore balance within the disturbed community and reassure audiences that such disruptions are temporary, manageable, and can be brought back under control.” (Frost 2015)

I de siste tiårene av 1600-tallet var sjangeren forbryterbiografier (“criminal biography”) populær i England, dvs. biografier om kriminelle (Messerli og Chartier 2000 s. 294). “In early American crime accounts, motive was never called into question since it was determined that everyone could be tempted by the devil and fall away from God’s grace. Similarly, every fallen man or woman could be reconciled to The Lord after this fall, no matter how great a sin was committed.” (Frost 2015)

Den britiske forfatteren Henry Fielding publiserte i 1752 et verk med den lange tittelen *Examples of the interposition of providence in the detection and punishment of murder. Containing, above thirty cases, in which this dreadful crime has been brought to light, in the most extraordinary and miraculous manner; collected from various authors, ancient and modern.*

“By the early eighteenth century the popularity of the criminal biography was well established: *A Narrative of all the Robberies, Escapes, &c. of John Sheppard* (1724a) went through eight editions in the two months following the death of Sheppard, a famous prisonbreaker, and *The Life and Adventures of Bampfylde-Moore Carew* (1745) reached 30 editions within 50 years; the Blandy murder in 1752 combined parricide by a young woman, a treacherous lover and the suspicion of injustice, and led to around 30 pamphlets and broadsheets being published” (Rawlings 1995).

Historien om Edmond Dantès og hans hevn i den franske forfatteren Alexandre Dumas’ roman *Greven av Monte-Cristo* (1845-46) er inspirert av en sann historie som Dumas og hans samarbeidspartner Auguste Maquet fant i et verk med tittelen *Erindringer hentet fra politiet i Paris’ arkiver, til fremme av historien om moralen og politiet* (1838) (Oudin 2010 s. 69-70).

Amerikaneren Edmund Lester Pearsons *Studies in Murder* (1999, redigert av Roger Lane) ble først utgitt i 1924. “Pearson, a Harvard educated New Englander and librarian by profession, was a master crime writer, probably one of the finest and certainly one of the most prolific. His tales of murderous events helped to define the genre of “true crime”; narrative accounts of criminal and usually sensational events that are based on trial records and contemporaneous chronicles. Indeed, for several generations Pearson’s work was the way readers came to know the stories of many of America’s most infamous crimes. Yet, for all of their historical authenticity, their dependence on trial records and newspaper accounts, his crime tales are as richly detailed as any fictional mysteries or detective novels, his

“characters”, drawn from life, are quirky and complicated, and his “resolutions” often leave room for questions and even doubt. [...] This collection contains the accounts of five very different murders: “The Borden Case” (1872), in which Lizzie Borden was accused (and acquitted) of the ax murder of her father and stepmother in their home in Fall River Massachusetts; “The Twenty-Third Street Murder” (1870), about the violent death of Benjamin Nathan, a wealthy New Yorker (possibly also a case of parricide); “Mate Bram!” (1896), the story of a triple murder at sea; “The Hunting Knife” (1904), the tale of the murder of a middle aged woman in her tidy home just west of Cambridge Massachusetts; and finally “Uncle Amos Has a Dream” (1812), the case of the presumed murder of Russel Colvin, a somewhat strange man known to disappear for long periods from his family home in Manchester, New Hampshire. All of these were cases of brutal murder, four of them stories of dysfunctional and probably murderous families, and all of them resulted in well-publicized trials. [...] Pearson’s tales are always sensitive to the nuances of social class and position – the witnesses who must be jailed to be secured, the culinary details of a Victorian household – as well as to the legal and judicial issues involved in high profile murder cases.” (Amy G. Srebnick i <https://journals.openedition.org/chs/797>; lesedato 25.09.19)

“I de beste bokhandlerne i New York er det i de siste åra dukket opp en ny gruppe bøker, en ny sjanger, som har vokst opp og fortrent andre sjangere til om ikke skyggenes dal så i hvert fall til kommersielle blindsoner. Det dreier seg om real crime, autentisk forbrytelse, og er dokumentarbøker om bankran, drap, kidnapping, ja, hva som helst bare det er virkelig kriminalitet. Synsvinkelen skal verken ligge hos politi eller røver. Sjangeren er naturligvis ikke ny, Gunnar Larsens “To mistenkelige personer”, Truman Capotes “Med kaldt blod”, Norman Mailers “Bøddelens sang” og James Ellroys “The Black Dahlia”, for ikke å snakke om sistnevntes spektakulære “My dark Places” der han skriver om drapet på sin egen mor, kan tjene som eksempler. De dikteriske elementene i disse [ovenfor nevnte] verkene er nok større enn i de mer rene utgaver av real crime. Skal det bli sånn at denne sjangeren skal erstatte kriminalromanen, slik biografien har erstattet dannelsesromanen? [...] Poenget med real crime er ellers at ingenting skal være anonymt, alt som skjer, skjer på et bestemt sted og til en bestemt tid, politi, røver og offer er navngitt.” (Espen Sjøbye i *Dagbladet* 20. januar 2008 s. 41)

“The birth of the contemporary true crime genre is often pinned on Truman Capote’s *In Cold Blood*, first published in four parts in *The New Yorker* in 1965 before being compiled into a book in 1966 and then produced as a movie the following year. Capote expanded the role of the author of a crime narrative because he was already established in literary circles and was thus able to bring a sense of acceptability to texts that had generally been dismissed as pulp. Two other authors of the twentieth century – Vincent Bugliosi, prosecuting attorney of Charles Manson and his three codefendants, and Ann Rule, who would rise to the top of the genre in the 1980s – continued to expand possibilities for the role, and authority, of the true crime author while still enacting the ritual of restoration.” (Frost 2015)

“Tre aspirin, kaldt vørterøl og en rekke Pall Mall-sigaretter, det var hans oppfatning av et ordentlig måltid.” Sånn lyder setningen som introduserer forbryteren i *Med kaldt blod*, boken som ifølge sin forfatter Truman Capote – og et stort antall senere lesere – grunnla sjangeren *true crime* da den kom ut i 1966.” (Bjarne Riiser Gundersen i *Morgenbladet* 3.–9. november 2017 s. 56)

“Some authors, such as Truman Capote, extensively interviewed the criminals after they were apprehended, looking for more information about their childhoods or perhaps searching for a single moment in which the presumably innocent babe turned into the criminal monster.” (Frost 2015)

“Although it is certainly an attention-grabber, and Vincent Bugliosi uses the discovery of the murders of Sharon Tate and her guests as his starting point in *Helter Skelter* (1974) because it begins the legal investigation, Truman Capote starts with a description of the quiet Kansas town about to be torn apart by the crime. Indeed, in *In Cold Blood*, the victims in the narrative are still alive at its start. Ann Rule opens *The Stranger Beside Me* not with one of Bundy’s murders, as might be expected, but with his emergence in Florida after his second prison escape. [...] the narrative ostensibly opens up the entire legal process to the audience, including leads that fizzle out or suppositions that end up being wrong.” (Frost 2015)

“Når det gjelder bokutgivelser er de fleste enige om at Truman Capotes klassiker “Med kaldt blod” fra 1965 etablerte sjangeren slik den er i dag. I november 1959 kunne leserne av “The New York Times” få med seg en artikkel om en gruffull forbrytelse. Fire personer i én og samme familie hadde blitt funnet døde i en liten by i Kansas. Capote ble fascinert av saken, og reiste til byen hvor han intervjuet politi, vitner og naboer, og han fulgte etter hvert rettsaken etter drapene. I 1966 ble boken hans utgitt, og den ble en bestselger. Det er imidlertid “Helter Skelter” fra 1974, skrevet av den amerikanske advokaten Vincent Bugliosi, som er tidenes bestselgende bok innen sjangeren. Bugliosi var aktor i drapsrettssakene mot Charles Manson og de andre medlemmene av kulten hans, og “Helter Skelter” handler nettopp om denne kriminalsaken. Bugliosi har i nyere tid skrevet bok om O.J. Simpson-saken.” (<https://bokelskerinnen.com/2016/10/true-crime-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 02.01.19)

“Like trial reports centuries earlier, Vincent Bugliosi reacted to the uncertainties and the lack of clarity by reporting the specifics of the investigation and the trial itself, relying on information that had previously been recorded in order to support the case for his subjects’ guilt. The narrative follows the investigation of a series of California murders eventually traced back to Charles Manson and his “Family,” including the resulting trial and the issues surrounding prosecuting Manson and his followers. Like Capote, Bugliosi himself has a role in his narrative, but unlike his predecessor, Bugliosi acknowledges this, clearly representing his own words and actions through use of scenes that include the identifier “I.” Bugliosi was the

prosecutor in the case he narrates, although he went beyond the usual limits of this role in order to collect evidence against Charles Manson and his Family. [...] the narrative that has come to advertise itself as the best-selling true crime book ever published. Bugliosi carefully documents the evidence collected, down to the number of latent fingerprints, drawing on forensic science at the scene of the crime to be used alongside the coroner's reports of the autopsy and bolster the evidence. Alongside reporting the Manson case, Bugliosi also makes a point to criticize the local law enforcement whenever he sees flaws or gaps in their procedure, thus documenting such details about the collection of evidence. This does not merely allow readers all of the clues of the murder investigation, but also provides evidence for his later arguments against law enforcement's handling of the case and invites the audience to come to their own conclusions. [...] it is not until Part Three of the book, 165 pages in, that he introduces himself, quite literally, in a chapter all his own. Up until this point Bugliosi has maintained a third person narrative voice, recounting evidence and quotes taken by investigating officers, but not including himself because he was quite literally not yet involved. In the chapter entitled November 18, 1969, he introduces himself and recounts his own past in order to show readers his own legal competence.” (Frost 2015)

“[A]t times Bugliosi's strict attention to chronological order makes his narrative more confusing than helpful, forcing readers to sift through evidence and keep apparently random facts in memory in order to make sense of the events. Individual interviews reference different events and different people, and instead of grouping all of the information surrounding certain events into one section, the reconstruction of past events jumps around depending on which witnesses is being interviewed about what subject. Names are mentioned of people – “characters” – who will not appear until weeks later, or are brought up once and then only returned to in another interview with another witness, confusing the many threads that Bugliosi, as prosecutor, must attempt to tie together for the trial. Although the book “allows for no moral gray areas,” there are difficulties at times determining whether individuals are good or bad upon their first appearances, law enforcement officials and Family members alike” (Frost 2015).

“*Helter Skelter* includes two sections of black and white photographs. The first includes maps of relevant California locations, photographs of 10050 Cielo Drive and the LaBianca residence, and images of all seven victims. Each is represented in two photographs, the first being while they were alive – Parent at prom, Folger and Frykowski in a casual moment, Sebring and Tate in individual stills that look like publicity shots, and the LaBiancas in individual close-ups. Each of these images, though, is situated next to a photograph of the victims' bodies at the crime scene under which each name is listed, followed by the identifier “murder victim.” Each image of the scene is accompanied by a short description of how the victim was found – for example, Sebring had a towel over his face and Folger's white nightgown had turned red with her blood – except for Tate's, which indicates her pregnancy, her pleading for her unborn child, and a response from one of the

killers. Even though Sebring's caption indicates that the rope looped around his neck led to another victim, and the rope is visible in the photo of Tate, it is not mentioned in her caption. The fact that they were the only two victims linked in such a way, and that they had at one time been lovers, was made much of by the investigation. Even though each victim is shown at the scene of the crime and details such as the rope going to Tate's neck can be seen, the bodies themselves have been turned into white silhouettes. The claim that Folger's white gown had turned red is not confirmable by her photograph, all of which is white. Other elements, such as the bag over Sebring's head, the pillow over Leno LaBianca's face, and the clothes covering Rosemary LaBianca's upper body, are left intact in the original photographic image. Only the bodies themselves, with the presumably ripped and bloodstained clothes, are whited out. [...] these people [de skyldige] have clearly been labeled as murderers and thus warrant a closer look, in case readers might then be capable of recognizing the evil lurking within not only these photographs, but also potentially dangerous strangers on the street." (Frost 2015)

Den amerikanske forfatteren Ann Rule kjente seriemorderen Ted Bundy før hans forbrytelser ble avslørt. Hun skrev boka *The Stranger Beside Me* (1980) om han. "When she was asked to write this book, before the investigation had even centered on a suspect, Rule shared her joy with her friends, including one Ted Bundy, with whom she had worked at a Seattle crisis center. The first-person accounts in *Stranger* stem from Rule's relationship with Bundy as a friend while researching the crimes he had committed. The personal relationship between criminal and author thus reached a new level, beyond Capote's post-sentencing interviews and Bugliosi's presence through the trial process. Rule knew her subject before the world recognized the name "Ted Bundy" and associated it with the act of serial killing. The effect of this relationship can be seen in the number of times Rule has been asked what Ted was like – "really." Because of this personal relationship, she is meant to have a better understanding of the truth of Ted Bundy, and thus be better able to communicate that truth to her audience. Further, the fact that she knew Ted before he was identified as *the* Ted puts her in a unique position of reassurance, since – after a number of details about the Ted murders had been released – she did indeed call the police tip line and report on her friend. This contributes to the aspect of the ritual that proclaims all criminals will indeed be recognized and brought to justice. Further, if Ann Rule can accept the rightness of the guilty sentence and the death penalty when it comes to her friend, then they must be deserved and therefore rightful consequences. Far from clouding her judgment, Rule's personal relationship with Bundy grants her declaration of his guilt, and acceptance of his fate, more credence. [...] Rule does not offer her own opinion of Bundy's guilt or innocence until 478 pages in." (Frost 2015)

"Ann Rule brakte nytt blod inn i sjangeren med *The Stranger Beside Me*, om seriemorderen Ted Bundy, en venn og kollega av henne. I 1974 jobbet Rule med en sak om de uløste drapene på flere unge piker. Bundys navn kom opp, og Rule tipset politiet om dette. Hun var overbevist om at Bundy var uskyldig, først da han senere

ble pågrepet, rømte fra fengslet og drepte igjen, begynte hennes tro på hans uskyld å vakle. Rule var likevel ambivalent til dødsstraffen Bundy fikk. Rules personlige kjennskap til Bundy ble viktig for debutboken hennes. Hun skapte seg senere en betydelig forfatterkarriere og ble i USA kjent som “dronningen av true crime”. (Elin Brend Bjørhei i <http://prosa.no/essay/true-crime-blodfattig-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 06.04.19)

“Bundy – groomed, a law student – was acceptable not only to women but to their mothers. Rule herself, nearly a generation older than Bundy, was charmed by him, although she did not fall in love with him. Even as she was immersed in the case of the “Ted” murders, it took months before she called the police hotline to tell them that she did indeed know a man named Ted who drove a VW Bug. [...] Although smart women will apparently recognize danger and be able to defend themselves against it, both Rule and Bundy’s girlfriend felt conflicted about making such calls, allowing for the same doubts that led to the victims’ deaths. [...] Bundy was able to present a normal façade to the world, although there is rhetoric surrounding his eyes – Rule’s 2008 introduction includes references to women who believe they escaped Bundy, many of whom wrote that they recognized him by his eyes. It is curious, however, that Bundy was able to fool so many young women if his eyes were as misleading and dangerous as claimed, but many covers of *Stranger* include his eyes, marking them as the most important physical feature of the serial killer, the window into his demented soul. Smart women, then, should be able to gaze into a man’s eyes and recognize the threat he poses, therefore protecting themselves from becoming his next victim. [...] Bundy presented the world with the idea of the normal-looking, even attractive, man with psychological issues, no longer recognizable as evil by his outer appearance. Part of the intrigue of the serial killer thus lies with the inability to recognize the danger, a fact that Bundy employed in order to kill so many victims. The threat no longer looks threatening, and is therefore even more dangerous than before.” (Frost 2015)

I et nytt forord til *The Stranger Beside Me* Ann Rule “declares Bundy’s guilt, if not what he was “really like,” prior to the crime narrative. Whether she meant the original text as a glimpse into the life of a friend of a criminal or a brutal warning that criminals are not easily identifiable, the new preface returns *Stranger* to the position of crime narratives before it, clearly declaring guilt and allowing the narrative to present readers with the evidence to prove it.” (Frost 2015)

“[F]ascinasjonen og forferdelsen rundt Bundy, fikk meg til å tenke. Jeg hadde tidligere sett en Bundy-dokumentar, men jeg husket ikke noen av ofrenes navn. Lynda Ann Healy, Debra Kent, Susan Curtis. Og så videre. I innlegget [“I won’t be watching the Bundy Tapes on Netflix”] står deres alder, interesser og ambisjonene de hadde i livet. Alt som kunne vært. “In a world filled with kind, beautiful people, I wonder why we all know Ted Bundy’s name”, står det. Da kan man spørre seg: Har vi som samfunn skyld i at grusomheten blir større enn dens faktiske størrelse når vi sluker, repeterer og videre produserer historiene gjerningspersonene selv har

skapt? Noen raske søk røper at over femti bøker er blitt skrevet om seriemorderen Theodore Robert Bundy. Enkelte av disse er blitt filmatisert. Hvis jeg vil se en dokumentar eller film om seriemorderen, har jeg opptil ti stykker å velge mellom, og når en skulle tro at interessen hadde dødd ut, Bundy var aktiv som seriemorder fra 1974 til 1978, viser det seg at det i år kommer en biografisk krimfilm med navnet *Extremely Wicked, Shockingly Evil, and Vile*, der Bundy gestaltes av skuespiller Zac Efron. Jeg er mer oppgitt over at det finnes et marked, en utrøstelig interesse for denne typen filmer, enn det faktumet at de lages. Det er vi, allmennheten, som holder Bundys navn i live, og det er vi som glemmer ofrene.” (Sumaya Jirde Ali i *Morgenbladet* 22.–28. februar 2019 s. 22)

Amerikaneren Orenthal James (“O. J.”) Simpson ble tiltalt for drapet på sin ekskone og hennes kjæreste, men ble frifunnet etter en rettssak i 1995 som fikk enorm medieoppmerksomhet. Simpson var allerede kjente i USA som fotballspiller og filmskuespiller. I 2007 ga Simpson og skyggeskriveren Pablo Fenjves ut boka *If I Did It: Confessions of the Killer*, som handler om hvordan Simpson tror drapene må ha foregått, og som altså er slik han selv kan ha gjennomført dem til tross for at han til slutt ble frikjent. Noen lesere vil følgelig anta at Simpson egentlig forklarer hva som faktisk skjedde, men peker nese av rettsapparatet som ikke har beviser nok mot han.

“The controversial release of O.J. Simpson’s quasi-confessional book about the killing of his ex-wife and her friend has divided book retailers in Canada, some of whom plan not to stock it. *If I Did It*, in which Simpson speculates on how, hypothetically, he could have killed Nicole Brown Simpson and Ron Goldman, has been at the centre of controversy since its release was announced earlier this week. [...] Under a storm of criticism, ReganBooks publisher Judith Regan said in a release issued Friday she chose to go ahead with the book because she was a victim of domestic violence and thought proceeds of the sale would go to Simpson's kids. “I didn't know what to expect when I got the call that the killer wanted to confess,” Regan said in an eight-page statement titled “Why I Did It.” “But I knew one thing. I wanted the confession for my own selfish reasons and for the symbolism of that act. For me, it was personal.” She said she was in an abusive relationship in her 20s and saw Simpson's confessional as a way to get closure. “I made the decision to publish this book, and to sit face to face with the killer, because I wanted him, and the men who broke my heart and your hearts, to tell the truth, to confess their sins, to do penance and to amend their lives,” she said. Though Simpson does not actually admit to the killings, Regan said she considers the book a confession.” (<http://www.cbc.ca/news/arts/books/story/2006/11/17/oj-canada-bookstores.html>; lesedato 25.01.13)

Andre eksempler:

Paul Johann Anselm von Feuerbach: *Merkelige rettsstilfeller* (1808-11)

Egon Erwin Kisch: *Praha-Pitaval* (1931)

Fabian, R. m.fl.: *Forbyrternes overmenn* (på norsk 1954-56) – 6 bind med gjenfortellinger av drap og andre alvorlige kriminelle handlinger som har foregått i virkeligheten. (O. Heiman (red.) sin *Nordisk kriminalkrønike* er lagd over samme lest som *Forbyrternes overmenn*.)

Eigil Steinmetz: *Attentater og politiske mord fra Marat til Kennedy* (1967)

Michel Foucault et al.: *Jeg, Pierre Rivière, har myrdet min mor, min søster og min bror: Et tilfelle av slektingdrap i det 19. århundre* (1973)

John Gilmore: *Severed: The True Story of the Black Dahlia Murder* (1994) – om en ung kvinne som reiste til Hollywood for å bli stjerne, men ble drept på grusomt vis; en uløst sak

Paul Britton: *The Jigsaw Man* (1997) – en britisk kriminalpsykolog forteller om sitt liv og saker han har bidratt til å løse

Monika Nordland Yndestad og Gro Vik: *Drapsmysterier fra Bergensområdet* (2005) – om 25 drap i perioden 1839-1994

Peter Øvig Knudsen: *Blekingegadebanden* (2008) – om en gruppe kommunistiske kriminelle i Danmark

Nils Johan Stoa: *Kjødets lyst: Fortellinger om synd og straff* (2010) – saker hentet fra reelle arkiver, f.eks. om barnemord

Hilde Moi: *Savnet i Baneheia: Drapene som rystet Norge* (2011)

Asbjørn Hansen: *Menneskejeger: Fra et liv som drapsetterforsker i Kripas* (2013)

En fransk avis kalt *Den lille avis (Le Petit Journal)* ga fra 1890 ut et illustrert tillegg hver søndag om ekte krim saker. Bilaget ble utgitt fram til 1944 (Oudin 2010 s. 104).

Mange amerikanske tidsskrifter har skrevet om sanne krimhistorier, og noen magasiner har handlet bare om slike saker. “In 1924 Bernarr Macfadden launched *True Detective Mysteries*. It flourished, attracted hosts of imitators, and established a new genre that for many years was one of the mostly widely read categories of American magazine. But as television grew into our main source of crime news, detective magazines went into decline and today are virtually extinct. In their 75-year wake, they left a vast – largely untapped – body of literature of great relevance to the scholars who study our criminal heritage, to historians of law-enforcement, to the sorrowful friends and relatives of crime victims, and to the descendants of

criminals themselves from whom poignant events in family history were often hidden.” (Patterson Smith i <http://www.patterson-smith.com/mags.htm>; lesedato 30.10.13)

“I 1924 ble det amerikanske magasinet “True Detective Mysteries” grunnlagt. Her blandet man fiktive krimhistorier med historier fra virkeligheten. Det viste seg at historiene fra virkeligheten var mye mer populære enn de oppdiktete, så etter hvert kuttet bladets grunnlegger, Bernarr Macfadden, ut fiksjonen. Bladet byttet også navn til “True Detective”. Magasinets popularitet var enorm, og det ble solgt omlag 2 millioner eksemplarer av bladet hver måned på 1930- og 1940-tallet. Macfadden grunnla senere “Master Detective”, som også baserte seg på historier fra virkeligheten. Populariteten til “True Detective” førte også til at hundrevis av andre magasiner med samme tema kom ut. “True Detective” holdt det gående helt til 1995, men har nå, sammen med “Master Detective” fått nytt liv hos True Crime Library.” (<https://bokelskerinnen.com/2016/10/true-crime-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 02.01.19)

“What was the so-called Golden Age of the detective magazine? The early and mid 1930s, when the major crimes figures of the Depression, like Bonnie and Clyde and the Barker gang roamed the Midwest. These bandits were themselves avid readers of the genre. Are these magazines published today? Generally speaking, they have died out. *True Detective*, the progenitor that began in 1924, published its last issue in 1995. [...] How many different detective magazines were there? No census has ever been taken, but since their advent in the 1920s there had to have been several hundred magazine titles and many thousands of different issues.” (Patterson Smith i <http://www.patterson-smith.com/mags.htm#GoldenAge>; lesedato 30.10.13)

“Titles such as [magasinene] True Crime and True Detective appeal not just to our fascination with horrific acts but to our desire to see justice and retribution [...] Philip Morton, who’s on the editorial staff of True Crime Library, which publishes the magazines, says: [...] “We are very careful about the sensitivities of anyone who has been involved in any of the cases we report – especially the recent ones. We are generally more careful than the national press, for instance, about naming friends and relatives of criminals and victims, and are very selective about the pictures we use: we’ve no interest in causing additional grief to anyone in any of our case reports. We are committed to getting it right and telling a complete story. That way there’s less chance of anyone feeling hard done by. Also I think people like to put themselves into life-and-death situations and imagine how they’d react – and our magazines, which are scrupulously truthful and as accurate as we can make them, certainly provide the material for such fantasies. What’s it like to be on Death Row, awaiting execution, or facing down a homicidal maniac, or indeed planning the perfect murder? Our writers specialise in putting our readers in just such situations, where they can experience a vicarious thrill.” [...] Though the method of storytelling has changed over the almost-century since True Detective magazine was launched, the basis of it is still the same: a fascination with the worst of human

nature. It might be that the true crime genre allows us to study the depths that people can sink to, at a safe distance, or it might just be that we really, really like the juicy details of a particularly gory crime.” (David Barnett i https://www.independent.co.uk/news/long_reads/true-crime-pays-the-history-of-real-life-crime-magazines-a7647976.html; lesedato 14.05.19)

Japaneren Issei Sagawa var i 1981 student i Paris, der han drepte, parterte og spiste en nederlandsk student. Han ble erklært sinnssyk og sendt tilbake til Japan, der han ble satt fri takket være sin rike og mektige far. Han begynte som skuespiller og forfatter (Oudin 2010 s. 22). “Sagawa tried his hand at a comic book version of the story. He also wrote a weekly column for a tabloid publication, edited an anthology of cannibal fantasies” (http://www.trutv.com/library/crime/serial_killers/weird/sagawa/11.html; lesedato 05.12.13). Briten Ian Brady, som på 1960-tallet sammen med Myra Hindley drepte en rekke barn i det som har blitt kalt “The Moors murders”, prøver i boka *The Gates of Janus: Serial Killing and Its Analysis* (2001) å forklare hvorfor noen blir seriemordere og føler seg frie fra religiøse, juridiske og moralske lover.

Gordon Burn har utgitt boka *Somebody's Husband, Somebody's Son* (1985) om den britiske seriemorderen Peter Sutcliffe, som drepte 13 kvinner. “The books are organised around ideas of order/normality and disorder/abnormality. The offender is presented as initially ordinary (so, Burn's book on Peter Sutcliffe is titled ... *somebody's husband, somebody's son*), but this ordinariness is gradually peeled away. The crimes are woven into the narrative without any change of pace so that they appear a normal part of the biographee's life and, thereby, emphasise her or his abnormality. The criminal as monster is further accentuated by the contrast between the crimes and the prosaic detail of streets, places, contemporary films and music. [...] The criminal is depicted as abnormal – and abnormal before the crime – but this abnormality is only revealed through the crime, so there remains the constant threat of other potential murderers whose tendencies are hidden and against whom it is, therefore, difficult to guard. Although order is restored through detection, it is not the innocent order which existed before the crime, not least because the detective may reveal the killer, but he or she cannot always explain the evil or irrational motivation. The element of tension remains: if one monster can arise out of such ordinariness, why not others? The detective becomes essential.” (Rawlings 1995)

“Burn (1984) writes that Sutcliffe clung to his mother as a child in a way that his father thought unnatural (p.30-3), was ashamed of his own body (p.39), was isolated and bullied (pp.44, 49, 71), developed an unhealthy interest in his work at the local cemetery (pp.56-9, 64), was embarrassed by courting couples (p.60), behaved oddly with women (pp.62-3, 68-9); Sutcliffe's gaze was unnerving (p.65), he was 'eerie' (p.90). All of this is presented against the background of the knowledge of his conviction for the murders, and implies the existence of clear predictive signs of the murders that were to follow.” (Rawlings 1995)

“The police are often discussed in terms which present them as vulnerable, human, ordinary, as opposed to the developing image of the monstrous offender: good against evil. The breaking of the case is usually attributed to the detective being able to read clues which no one else could decipher. For example, the breakthrough in the Moors murders case might have seemed to have been when David Smith, Hindley’s brother-in-law, went to the police, but Ritchie (1993) lays more emphasis on the discovery by a detective of a left luggage ticket: ‘a piece of meticulous detection that John Tyrell would later be praised for in court’ (Ritchie 1993: 95). The obvious exception to this view of competent detective work would seem to be the Sutcliffe case. Burn’s description of the police inquiry starts about a third of the way into the book, after five murders have been depicted, and from then on the inquiry is presented as a shambles.” (Rawlings 1995)

“The victims are typically left in the background of all these books, although books by victims or their relatives (West 1989) do appear, and Gratus (1969) has produced a collection.” (Rawlings 1995) Ann West ga ut *For Love of Lesley: The ‘Moors Murders’ Remembered by a Victim’s Mother* (1989), og Jack Gratus *The Victims* (1969).

Nordisk kriminalkrønike “arbeider på oppdrag fra Norges politiidsrettsforbund. Politiet i Norge behandler hvert år tusenvis av anmeldelser når det gjelder lovbrudd av forskjellig art. Mange av disse får stor oppmerksomhet i media, og mange av disse blir vi aldri ferdige med. Siden 1971 har Nordisk Kriminalkrønike årlig kommet med en utgave som omhandler nettopp noen av disse sakene. Etterforskerne som aktivt har deltatt i oppklaringen av forbrytelsene, har skrevet ned historiene og sine opplevelser om dette.” (<http://www.norkrim.no/>; lesedato 24.04.17)

Den britiske psykologen Paul Britton skrev *The Jigsaw Man* (1997) om sin rolle som “Consultant Clinical and Forensic Psychologist” (“profiler”) for britisk politi. En profiler er en psykolog- og kriminolog-ekspert som lager en analyse, en profil, av egenskaper gjerningsmannen antakelig har, f.eks. alder og yrke. Britton har deltatt i jakten på mordere og bidratt til å arrestere mange av dem, også seriemordere. Han beskriver etterforskningen av en rekke saker og sin rolle i dem. Dessuten prøver han å forklare hvordan en psykopat, sadist og andre mentalt syke mennesker innretter sine liv og hvorfor de begår grusomme handlinger mot andre. Han analyserer deres psyke, og tyr delvis til metaforer for å gjøre det ubegripelige en smule forståelig. Om den britiske seriemorderen Frederick West skriver Britton at han aldri klarte å oppfatte andre mennesker som unike personer, med samme menneskelige behov som han selv. En metafor for Wests kulde er at han brukte riktige ord i omgang med andre mennesker, men at han ikke visste hva de egentlig betydde. En annen metafor Britton bruker, er at West var fargeblind. Det går godt an å leve med å være fargeblind, men det er umulig å skjønne hva gressets grønnfarge og rosens rødfarge er. West kjente tingenes former, men ikke deres farge (Britton 1998 s. 380-381).

Britton gir gode råd og advarsler når det gjelder framgangsmåter i etterforskning, som om leseren selv drev etterforskning. Noen råd kan kanskje overføres til dagliglivet. En av advarslene er å danne seg en hypotese og så lete etter de faktaene som passer til hypotesen. Informasjoner blir da vurdert etter om de passer inn i det mønsteret man allerede har dannet seg i tankene. Avgjørende informasjon/fakta som ikke passer inn i bildet, har da en tendens til å bli oversett (Britton 1998 s. 418).

Den amerikanske forfatteren Joe McGinniss “kastet seg på “true crime”-bølgen. I 1979 ble han invitert av en drapstiltalt – Jeffrey MacDonald – til å skrive en bok om mordet på MacDonalds kone og to barn i militærleiren hvor MacDonald jobbet som lege. MacDonald anførte at hans kone og barn var blitt drept av flere inntrengere, og ble trodd av en militær domstol. Men drapsofferets stefar fikk tatt saken opp på ny i en sivildomstol. McGinniss fulgte MacDonald og advokatene mens de forberedte seg på rettssaken. På et tidspunkt ble han til og med av praktiske årsaker innlemmet i forsvarsteamet – som han allerede bodde sammen med i byen Raleigh, hvor rettssaken fant sted. En forhåndsavtale ble inngått om at en betraktelig sum og deler av overskuddet fra boka skulle gå til MacDonald. Det var mildt sagt et uryddig forhold. MacDonald og McGinniss var til dels intervjuobjekt og forfatter, men de var også forretningspartnere, de var gode venner, og ikke minst hadde McGinniss vært med som flue på veggen i forsvarsteamet. Hvilken rolle var den viktigste? Etter at MacDonald ble fengslet, kommuniserte de gjennom brev som har nådd offentligheten i ettertid. “(...) Jeg skriver igjen om et par dager, Jeff”, skrev McGinniss i et brev etter at sivildomstolen dømte MacDonald, “dette er så jævla forferdelig at jeg ikke kan tro det enda – synet av juryen som kom inn – av juryens avstemning – og du stod der – mens du bare sa de få ordene – ledet ut – også å se deg i et jævla fengsel. Det er et helvete å gjennomleve – her bruker jeg sommeren på å få en ny venn også kommer jævlene og låser ham inne.” (Fra “The Journalist and the Murderer”.) I et annet brev skrev McGinniss at han håpet bokprosjektet kunne gi mening til fengselstilværelsen for MacDonald, fordi boka ville la ham fortelle den fulle historien. “Ei bok om saken; ingen forbryter bør være uten. (Selv om det var for å spøke, føles det ikke riktig å trykke ordet “forbryter” med henvisning til deg, og jeg håper som et helvete at denne fasen vil ta slutt så fort som mulig).” (Dagbladet 21. februar 2014 s. 56-57)

“I [boka] “Fatal Vision” skisserte McGinniss Jeffrey MacDonald som en demonisk sosiopat, bak den velstelte og innbydende fasaden til den høyt utdannede militærlegen. McGinniss hadde funnet en løs formulering i et vitnesbyrd som kunne tyde på at MacDonald hadde tatt en overdose amfetaminslankepill som fortsatt var lovlige i 1971, og konkluderte med at pillene hadde utløst en voldelig psykose. Voldelig fordi MacDonald var drevet av et hat mot den kvinnelige rasen som han hadde undertrykket siden barndommen, fyret opp under av amfetaminen, stress og utmattelse og antent av at kona hadde begynt på et psykologkurs som ga henne “ny, truende innsikt i personlighetsstruktur og atferdsmønstre”. Basert på en

sammenrasket gjennomgang av den tilgjengelige psykiatriske teorien, gjorde ikke bare McGinniss intervjuobjektet sitt til en morder, men til en syk morder. “Grandios”, “kald”, “grunn”, “nådeløs”, “utnyttende”, “parasittisk”, “hoven”, “sjalu”, “selvsentret”, “uten følelsmessig dybde” og “uten oppriktig tristhet” var blant merkelappene McGinniss fikk klistret på MacDonald via en psykiaterkilde. Kontrasten mellom den velmenende mannen som strakte seg langt for å gjøre sin kilde til lags, og det ravende karakterdrapet som ble gjort i “Fatal Vision”, opplevdes som et sjokkerende svik for MacDonald. Han saksøkte McGinniss for avtalebrudd.” (*Dagbladet* 21. februar 2014 s. 57)

Den franske forfatteren Emmanuel Carrère, “forfatteren bak “Limonov”, som nylig kom ut på norsk, følte så store moralske kvaler rundt sitt forsøk på å skildre et mord på avstand, at han etter seks års arbeid la fra seg 1000 sider med manus da han jobbet med boka “Doktor Romand” – om den falske legen Jean-Claude Romand, som tok livet av sin kone og sine to barn i redsel for å bli avslørt. Carrère var nødt til å endre perspektiv, og endte med å dra seg selv inn i historien, for å vise fram de nødvendige hullene i fortellingen en sakprosaforfatter skriver. “Fra et moralsk perspektiv er dette hva jeg er stolt av med boka: Jeg snakket aldri på hans vegne. Jeg satte meg aldri i hans sted”, sa Carrère til *The Paris Review*. Injuriesøksmål kom ikke på tale engang – drapsmannen roste boka.” (*Dagbladet* 21. februar 2014 s. 57)

“I Norge har bokserier som “Nordisk Kriminalkrønike” og magasinet “Kriminaljournalen”, som var inspirert av “True Detective”, vært viktige innslag i sjangeren. Jens Bjørneboe skrev faktisk i *Kriminaljournalen*, han hadde blant annet en serie om etterforskningsteknikk der. [...] Når man snakker om norske utgivelser innen sjangeren på 1990-tallet er det vanskelig å komme utenom Ola Thune, og hans bøker: “Sannheten om Anne Kristin-saken” (1992) og “Jakten” (1993). Sistnevnte skrev han sammen med Ragnar Kvam Jr. Thune fikk forøvrig en egen tv-serie i 2010: “Thune-files”. Nevnes må også “Øksedrapene i Lille Helvete” (1992) av Tore Sandberg. 2000-tallet ble innledet av Odd Isungsets “Attentatet”, hvor han skrev om drapsforsøket på forlagssjef Willian Nygaard. Og vi fikk senere utgivelser som Erik Tumyr og Frank Ganders “Da døden kom til Orderud gård” (2002), Bjørn Olav Jahrs “Smarte skurker, grådige gubber” (2005), Morten A. Strøksnes’ “Et mord i Kongo” (2011). Kjetil Østli fikk Brageprisen for “Politi og røver” (2009). Mye omtalte saker som Nokas-saken, Martine-saken, brannen på Scandinavian Star og Baneheia har også blitt gjenstand for bøker innen sjangeren. Men flest bøker har det nok vært skrevet om 22-juli og drapene på Utøya med Åsne Seierstads “En av oss” som en av de mest omtalte. Torgrim Sørnes har gravd opp historiske kriminalsaker i sin bokserie om de dødsdømte i Norge. [...] kom varsler Robin Schaefer ut med “Monika-saken”, og Bjørn Olav Jahr skapte debatt med “Hvem drepte Birgitte Tengs”. Jørn Lier Horst og Trond Einar Frednes solgte masse av “Badboy”. Anne Britt Harsem har utmerket seg med flere utgivelser, blant annet bøker om Alvdal-saken. Denne høsten er hun aktuell med “Barneranerne”. Torgrim Sørnes utkom med “Bøddel” tidligere i år, og Trond

Henriksen er aktuell med “Ingen murer er for høye”. Denne uken lanseres Erik Larsons amerikanske bestselger “Djevelen i den hvite byen” på norsk. Her handler det om verdensutstillingen i Chicago og seriemorderen H.H. Holmes. Senere denne måneden lanseres “En natt i oktober”, Marius Løkens egen beretning fra Halloween-drapet i 2011. Løken overlevde 20 knivstikk.” (<https://bokelskerinnen.com/2016/10/true-crime-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 02.01.19)

Nils Johan Stoas bok *Kjødets lyst* (2010) er en “samling kriminalhistorier fra gamle dager, fisket fram fra arkivene – rystende og spennende skildringer av bestialske drap, ulykkelig sjalusi og antikverte straffemetoder. En fin påminnelse for dem som tror at folk er blitt mye råere og gærnere i vår tid.” (*Dagbladet* 27. februar 2012 s. 36) “Kjønnsdriften står sentralt i kriminalitetshistorien. I Nils Johan Stoas nye bok *Kjødets lyst – Fortellinger om synd og straff* ser vi hvorledes kjønnsdriften ligger som en urkraft bak en rekke forbrytelser. [...] Kjønnsdriften står sentralt i kriminalitetshistorien fordi den har gitt opphav til ulike typer lovbrudd, ikke bare sedelighetsforbrytelser i snever forstand, som hor, leiermål, blodskam, homoseksualitet og seksuell omgang med dyr. Som en kriminell urkraft ligger kjønnsdriften også bak andre, og i nåtidens øyne langt mer alvorlige forbrytelser. Talløse tilfeller av drap kan på ulik måte spores tilbake til sex og begjær – sjalusidrap, drap for å skjule brudd på sedelighetslovene og drap for å bryte ut av ekteskap og parforhold. I *Kjødets lyst* møter vi enkeltindivider i dramatiske og ekstreme livssituasjoner. Deres liv og skjebne engasjerer oss fortsatt, tross avstanden i tid. Nils Johan Stoa er historiker og leder for Statsarkivet i Kongsberg. Han har tidligere utgitt *I hine hårde dage – Gamle norske kriminalhistorier* [...] Kriminaliteten berører grunnleggende trekk ved samfunnsforhold og mellommenneskelige relasjoner – før som nå, skriver Stoa i bokens forord. - Den historiske kriminaliteten forteller oss om fortidens mennesker og samfunnet de levde i.” (<http://www.cappelendamm.no/>; lesedato 25.01.13)

Torgrim Sørnes’ bok *Ondskap: De henrettede i Norge 1815-1876* (2009) forteller “historien om 39 kriminalsaker fra 1800-tallet som endte med dødsdom og eksekusjon. Sørnes tegner et bilde av et Norge som er lite kjent fra før. Ved hjelp av studier av rettsdokumenter og avisartikler, har forfatteren rekonstruert begivenhetene som førte fem kvinner og 39 menn til retterstedet. Det dreier seg om mennesker fra de laveste sosiale lag – husmenn, stimenn og løsarbeidere. Vi får innblikk i miljøer preget av den dypeste fattigdom. Ugjerningene har et bakteppe av sykdom og nød, knivslagsmål, pengebegjær, løsunger og fyll. Boken gir oss innblikk i motivene bak ugjerningene, grufulle detaljer om drapene, etterforskningen, rettssakene og vitnemålene. Den følger de dømte til retterstedet og overværer halshuggingen. Her rapporteres det om delinkventenes siste ord så vel som skarpretternes og publikums reaksjoner.” (<http://www.bokkilden.no/>; lesedato 24.02.14)

Bernt Roughvedts bok *Mordet på lille Mary: En sann historie om klarsyn, sedelighetsforbrytere og et drap i gamle Pipervika* (2017) handler om en historisk

drapsgåte. Den “foregår i Pipervikas slumlignende gatestubber, som var et uregulert villnis frem til Rådhuskvartalene ble påbegynt tidlig på 1930-tallet. [...] det som i ettertid er blitt kalt “Mary-saken”, som begynte da seks år gamle Mary Eugenie Olsen ble meldt savnet fra hjemmet sitt i Pipervika i Oslo i januar 1937. Etter noen måneder ble kroppen hennes funnet flytende i havnebassenget, innpakket i en striesekk. Etterforskningen og rettssaken som fulgte, ble den typen medieføljetong man kunne varme seg på under 1930-tallets dyrtid. [...] Samtidig er det umulig ikke å tenke på en annen krimdokumentar mens man leser, en bok også Roughvedt oppgir som direkte inspirasjonskilde: Ivo de Figueiredos *Mysteriet Ingeborg Køber* (2010), som tok for seg et annet av 1930-tallets spektakulære rettsdramaer. [...] Forfatteren forteller i avslutningskapittelet at politiets mappe om Mary-saken på mystisk vis forsvant fra et kontor i 1950, derfor bygger boken “kun på Oslo-avisers reportasjer”. Begrensningene tvinger ham tidvis ut i spekulasjoner [...] Roughvedt er, i likhet med avdøde jussprofessor Anders Bratholm, overbevist om at Ingolf Hansen ble uskyldig dømt” (*Morgenbladet* 18.–24. august 2017 s. 58).

“Tina Jørgensen er tyve år gammel når hun forsvinner sporløst fra Stavanger i september 2000. En måned senere blir hun, ved en tilfeldighet, funnet drept i en kum ved Bore kirke. I ettertid har flere personer vært pågrepet og mistenkt i saken, men den er foreløpig ikke oppklart. Som krimjournalist i Stavanger Aftenblad har Erlend Frafjord fulgt saken fra begynnelsen. Boken *Da Tina ble drept* [2017] gir en grundig fremstilling av politiets etterforskning og tar for seg ulike teorier om drapet og mulige gjerningsmenn. Flere av saksdetaljene som presenteres i boken, har ikke tidligere vært kjent for publikum. Leseren gis også innblikk i Tinas oppvekst og liv, gjennom private bilder og dagboknotater får vi et bilde av hennes personlighet og bakgrunn. Å levendegjøre offeret på denne måten er et fint, litterært grep som skaper mer engasjement for bokens innhold. [...] *Da Tina ble drept* er resultatet av et imponerende godt og grundig journalistisk arbeid. Frafjord baserer boken på flere etterprøvbare kilder og har hatt unik tilgang til stoff som belyser saken fra flere sider. Hans uttalte ønske er at boken skal bidra til å løse drapssaken, men han har ingen annen tydelig agenda utover dette. Gjennom hele boken evner han å holde en objektiv tone og en sunn distanse til det som fremlegges. I presentasjonen av mulige gjerningsmenn gir han for eksempel ikke leseren noen føringer, men lar fakta tale for seg. Leseren står fritt til å trekke sin egen konklusjon, og dette får boken tidvis til å fremstå som en krimroman. [...] Flere kapitler har cliffhangers som gjør boken vanskelig å legge fra seg.” (Elin Brend Bjørhei i <http://prosa.no/essay/true-crime-blodfattig-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 06.04.19)

Erlend Frafjords bok *Da Tina ble drept: En kriminaldokumentar* (2017) er “skrevet fra et aktivistisk perspektiv: Målet er å generere nye tips til Kripos-gruppen som nå undersøker saken på nytt. Men boken rommer også et ønske om å menneskelig-gjøre Tina Jørgensen, å gjøre den 21-årige Randaberg-kvinnen til noe mer nyansert enn tabloidavisenes resirkulerte savnet-portrett.” (Bjarne Riiser Gundersen i *Morgenbladet* 3.–9. november 2017 s. 57)

“Bjørn Olav Jahr ble kjent for sitt journalistiske arbeid med Finance Credit-saken, som senere også ble bok. Han har vært redaktør for Frafjords bok og er også aktuell med en egen true crime: *Drapene i Baneheia* [2017] [...] *Drapene i Baneheia* tar for seg hele sakskomplekset, fra jentene forsvinner til de blir funnet, går gjennom politiets etterforskning, den påfølgende rettsprosessen og senere etterspill. Boken retter et sterkt kritisk blikk mot politi og påtalemyndighet. [...] deler Jahr saksdetaljer som tidligere har vært holdt unna offentligheten. Pressen valgte ikke å referere detaljer under rettssakene blant annet av hensyn til ofrenes familie. Jahr mener dette reduserte pressens mulighet for å bedrive kritisk journalistikk, gjorde at politi og påtalemyndighet slapp unna med feil, og påvirket rettssikkerheten til Viggo Kristiansen. Jahr er også kritisk til pressens arbeid og går langt i å antyde at det har gått prestisje i saken hos flere. [...] Tidlig i boken skriver Jahr at han mener Viggo Kristiansen er uskyldig, offer for Norges største justismord, og boken må derfor leses i lys av dette. [...] Jahr går for eksempel langt i å antyde karaktertrekk og diagnoser hos Jan Helge Andersen, og tegner et bilde av en beregnende psykopat som har trukket sin uskyldige kamerat inn i saken for å mildne inntrykket av seg selv. I et kapittel fremfører Jahr sin teori om hvordan drapene kan ha skjedd, dette gjør boken spekulativ og reduserer dens kraft. *Drapene i Baneheia* inneholder mye sprengstoff, blant annet når det kommer til det såkalte mobilbeviset, og er en forstyrrende bok på flere plan. Den stiller spørsmålstegn ved om det er reell rettssikkerhet i Norge, er kritisk til avhørpraksis og mener forhåndsdømming i pressen kan påvirke mulighetene for en rettfærdig rettssak.” (Elin Brend Bjørhei i <http://prosa.no/essay/true-crime-blodfattig-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 06.04.19)

“Det er ingen overdrivelse å kalle Baneheia-saken for et nasjonalt traume. Da nyheten kom om at to unge jenter, Stine Sofie Sørstrønen (8) og Lena Sløgedal Paulsen (10), var blitt voldtatt og drept i Baneheia fredag 19. mai 2000, ble hele nasjonen hensatt i en tilstand av sjokk og sorg. Sjokket ble raskt forvandlet til raseri: Hvilken samvittighetsløs forbryter kunne finne på å gjøre noe slikt? Lettelsen var derfor stor da politiet i september 2000 kunne informere om at to unge menn var arrestert i forbindelse med drapene, hvorav den ene, Jan Helge Andersen, allerede samme dag innrømmet å ha drept den ene jenta. Den andre av de to siktede, Viggo Kristiansen, innrømmet ingen befatning med barnedrapene, og har til dags dato bedyret sin uskyld. [...] Ett av Jahrs hovedanliggender er å påvise løgner, brister og uoverensstemmelser i Andersens fortelling fra drapkvelden. [...] Jahr kan ellers peke på en lang rekke kritikkverdige forhold i politiets håndtering av saken. [...] Den største svakheten ved boken er at forfatteren allerede på de første sidene fremstiller det som et faktum at Viggo Kristiansen er uskyldig dømt. Dermed frarøver han leseren muligheten til å lese boken som en nøytral fremstilling. Etter mitt syn ville det ha vært heldigere om han hele veien hadde veid for og imot, før han eventuelt til slutt, som følge av å ha vurdert alle sakens momenter, presenterte sin egen konklusjon. [...] Et annet problem er at Jahr bare sporadisk oppgir kildene til de opplysningene han presenterer. Dermed blir det også vanskelig for leseren å vurdere hvilken vekt som kan tillegges hvert enkelt moment.

[...] Det er, i hvert fall for denne leseren, vanskelig å fri seg fra følelsen av at vi her kan stå overfor en av de største rettsskandalene i nyere norsk historie.” (Frode Helmich Pedersen i *Morgenbladet* 20.–26. oktober 2017 s. 50-51)

Kåre Hunstad og Harald Haaves *Drapene i Tistedal* (1993) handler om fire drap i Tistedal ved Halden i årene 1991-92. Biblioteksjefen i Halden bibliotek skrev 9. september 2011: “Er det noen bibliotek som kan tenke seg å avgi eksemplarer av denne boka? Vi har stadig etterspørsel etter den, siden hendelsen skjedde i vårt distrikt. Vi har mistet flere eksemplarer og de få vi har igjen er utrolig slitte.” (på e-postlista biblioteknorge@nb.no)

“Selv i de mest objektive beretningene fremstilles en virkelighet hvor det er behov for engasjerte mennesker utenfor politiets kretser dersom kriminalsaker skal gis en rettferdig behandling.” (Elin Brend Bjørhei i <http://prosa.no/essay/true-crime-blodfattig-krim-fra-virkeligheten/>; lesedato 06.04.19)

“Perhaps the most famous crime narrative of innocence, John Grisham’s *The Innocent Man: Murder and Injustice in a Small Town* (2006), documents the release of a prisoner who had spent eleven years on death row, thanks to DNA evidence. Grisham further documents the mental and psychological damage done to the innocent prisoner during this prison stay, especially when the prisoner came within a week of his execution date before it was stayed. These tales of wrongful imprisonment, however, do not generally appear in book-length accounts within the true crime genre, because they display instances in which the legal system has failed to protect the community. Like the trial report, the contemporary true crime book works to reassure audiences that justice has been done and to present them with the feeling of safety and of order restored.” (Frost 2015)

Ingrid Berglunds bok *Ingen sak for en kvinne* (2010) handler om Mary Reklev, Norges første kvinnelige privatetterforsker. “Da privatetterforsker Mary Reklev pensjonerte seg, brant hun arkivet for å bli kvitt sakene hun hadde jobbet med. Det fjernet alle spor til klientene, men ikke sporene klientene hadde satt i henne. Synet av mannen som lå i krampegråt på gulvet, blikket til kvinnen som ble terrorisert av sin mann, fortvilelsen til ingeniøren hun trakk ut av en container, bønner i øynene til barnet som ikke greide å leve med morens forsikringssvindel lot seg verken viske ut eller brenne opp. Mary Reklev startet Norges første private etterforskningsbyrå sammen med sin politiektemann, Gunnar Reklev, i 1966. I de førti årene Mary drev byrået forble innholdet i sakene stort sett det samme, men måten å etterforske på forandret seg drastisk. Boka gir et innblikk i hvordan det var, og er, å være privatetterforsker, en virkelighetens Varg Veum, eller Nancy Drew for å være kjønnsriktig.” (<http://www.bokkilden.no/>; lesedato 18.02.11)

“Undertittelen på boka, “I fotsporene til privatetterforsker Mary Reklev”, er dekkende i den forstand at den både forteller historien om etterforskeren og om en rekke av de sakene hun arbeidet med, men både Berglund og hovedpersonen selv er

nøye med å påpeke at alle personer, bortsett fra en viss møbelhandler fra Jessheim, er anonymisert.” (*Dagbladet* 26. januar 2010 s. 36)

Dennis Zacher Aske ga i 2018 ut boka *Kvinnen i Isdalen: Nytt lys over norgeshistoriens største kriminalgåte*, som med “over 300 sider og med et 50 siders appendiks med dokumentasjon går gjennom den komplekse saken om kvinnen som ble funnet død i Isdalen i Bergen i november 1970. Det er en av de største kriminalgåtene vi har, omtalt i en rekke dokumentarer og bøker. BBC World Service og NRK har nå gått sammen om en podkastserie med tittel *Death in Ice Valley*. Premiere i april, den vil kunne få 200 millioner lyttere. Aske har altså gjort en kolossal innsats. Politiets materiale fra etterforskningen er finsiktet, gamle ruteplaner for båter og fly er sjekket, turstier i Bergen er gått opp og tiden det tar å gå dem notert ned. Gamle aviser er lest på nytt, folk som hadde noe med saken å gjøre og som fortsatt er i live er intervjuet. Spor er fulgt ut av landet, til Italia, Sør-Afrika, helt til New Zealand. Jeg kunne se Aske for meg mens jeg leste – sittende lange dager og sene kvelder med det enorme puslespillet. Vi følger ham på turene inn i krattet i den utilgjengelige Isdalen, han gransker foto fra åstedet – hun hadde brannskader på bena, på den ene foten forbrente rester av en mørkeblå strekkbukse. Men fremfor alt følger vi den gåtefulle kvinnen på reisene hvor hun – skal det etter hvert vise seg – opererer under ulike identiteter, tar inn på hotell under forskjellige navn. Hvem var hun? Begikk hun selvmord, som politiet konkluderte med? Eller ble hun drept?” (Willy Pedersen i *Morgenbladet* 16.–22. mars 2018 s. 48)

Britiske Adrian Raines bok *The Anatomy of Violence* (2013) er skrevet av “en av pionerene innenfor nevrokriminologi og en verdensledende ekspert på biologiske årsaker bak vold. Med utgangspunkt i kjente mordere som Richard Speck, Ted Kacynski og Henry Lee Lucas, ser han i denne boka på sammenhenger mellom predisponerte egenskaper og kriminalitet. Han drøfter også de vanskelige juridiske og etiske problemstillingene slike funn reiser.” (*Klassekampens* bokmagasin 8. februar 2014 s. 11)

Den polsk-tyske kriminologen Lydia Benecke prøver i boka *På tynn is: Det ondes psykologi* (2013; på tysk) å forklare hvorfor noen mennesker blir psykopater (Benecke 2013 s. 196). Barn som utsettes for overgrep gjentatte ganger, som lever med ekstrem vold osv., får en hjerne som er i permanent “alarmstilstand” (Benecke 2013 s. 199). Hjernen reagerer vanligvis med å gi beskjed om flukt, kamp eller en annen vei ut av det ekstreme, med disse barna har ingen utvei. Det psykiske stresset blir ekstremt over lange perioder, og kan ikke nedjusteres. Funksjoner i hjernen som mennesket trenger for å unngå farlige situasjoner, blir skadet (Benecke 2013 s. 201). Senere i livet utløser alt som ligner overgrepene og de traumatiske opplevelsene, en sterk psykisk reaksjon. Psykopater opplever sin ulykkelige livssituasjon som dypt urettferdig, og anser seg som løst fra alle menneskelige hensyn og bånd som fungerer i samfunnet (Benecke 2013 s. 238). De har blitt “følelsesdøve”, ute av stand til å oppleve noen annen følelse enn raseri (Benecke 2013 s. 248-249). De har derfor ingen skyldfølelse for sine løgner, tyverier og drap.

“[T]he defendants variously claimed that poverty, medication, television, racism, abuse, or some combination thereof caused a mental disorder that should be blamed for their actions. [...] What happens to the notion of personal responsibility when genetics displace our understanding of free will? In an age when the human genome has been mapped and doctors promise the continued unfolding of the mystery of human biology, where will the law situate responsibility? [...] Mental illnesses that are now considered legitimate were ridiculed twenty years ago. As society changes with progress in the diagnosis and treatment of mental illness, the definitions of mental illness are evolving. At times there is a discrepancy between what is accepted by psychiatry and what society, at large, is willing to acknowledge.” (Rachel Gans-Boriskin og Claire Wardle i <https://www.albany.edu/scj/jcipc/vol12is1/gans-boriskin.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

I boka *Sex Crimes: Patterns and Behaviors* (2. Utgave, 2002) skriver forfatterne Stephen T. Holmes og Ronald M. Holmes: “ “there is no clear understanding of the etiology of the voyeur” (61); “the exact etiology [of transvestitism] is unknown” (69); “the basic etiology of pedophilia is unknown” (95); “no one knows the precise etiology of necrophilia” (149); “the issue of etiology [for lust offenders] is not fully addressed” (168); “there is no simple explanation for the etiology of a rapist” (184).” (her gjengitt av Scott R. Senjo i <https://www.albany.edu/scj/jcipc/vol10is2/senjo.pdf>; lesedato 30.10.19)

Den amerikanske sosiologen Jack Katz hevder i boka *Seductions of Crime: Moral and Sensual Attractions in Doing Evil* (1988) at kriminalitet ofte har en sensuell appell som forfører lovbyrteren. Forbryteren har et behov for “to feel worthy and the inclination to link the sense of personal worth to a conception of higher meaning. From such a perspective, the point of their acts is to make these feelings personally real – in their case by creating “magical environments” in which crimes from the most banal to the most brutal have transcendent meaning for the offender. [...] he argues in the opening chapter of the book, potential law violators may be seduced by the “sensual dynamics” (p. 4) of activities that elicit a moral, emotional reaction on the part of the actor. [...] Confronted with a perceived challenge to basic morality, the killer (usually male) defines his situation in transcendental terms as a “last stand in defense of his basic worth”. [...] Personal claims of moral worth are conjoined with a sense of universal moral absolutes. This conviction sustains the transformation of an “eternally” humiliating situation into a justified rage. Subsequent behavior is organized to maintain the perspective and emotional posture of being forced to defend his/her moral self. The process eventuates in an attack – often but not necessarily fatal – impelled by the need (in Katz’s conception) for a “sacrificial marking” of the victim, redefined as an offender against moral order.” (https://soci.ucalgary.ca/brannigan/sites/soci.ucalgary.ca.brannigan/files/Katz_commentary.pdf; lesedato 29.06.15)

Sakprosalitteraturen om kriminalitet omfatter også bøker som Franklin W. Dixons *Hardyguttenes detektivhåndbok* (på norsk 1959; med forord av etterforsker Reidar

Sveen). Den handler om hukommelsestrening, skygging m.m. for hobbydetektiver (eller gutter/jenter som drømmer om å kunne gi politiet en håndsrekning). I boka behandles fingeravtrykk, avstøpning i gips og plastmasse av sko-avtrykk og bildekkspor, hvordan øve opp iakttakelsesevne, om åstedundersøkelse og visitering av den mistenkte osv. Det finnes mange bøker av typen Sheila L. Stephens' *The Everything Private Investigation Book: Master the techniques of the pros to examine evidence, trace down people, and discover the truth* (2008).

Den britiske forfatteren og legen Arthur Conan Doyle, som skrev Sherlock Holmes-historiene, var medlem av en Crimes Club i London. Denne klubben ble stiftet i 1903, og de første medlemmene var leger, jurister og forfattere. Når medlemmene møttes, spiste de middag sammen og diskutert uløste eller utilfredsstillende løste krim saker i samfunnet, dvs. reelle forbrytelser (Oudin 2010 s. 13). Om dette har Stephen Wade skrevet boka *Conan Doyle and the Crimes Club: The Creator of Sherlock Holmes and His Criminological Friends* (2012). "In December 1903, a group of gentlemen friends met for dinner at the Carlton Club. They had one great interest in common: a fascination with crimes and criminals. In the ranks of that first convivial circle there were writers, lawyers and academics rubbing shoulders with a London coroner and two celebrated aristocrats. In a golden age of literary dinners and good fellowship, these aficionados of murder agreed to have meetings at which members would talk on famous and infamous crimes. [...] Conan Doyle and the Crimes Club: The Creator of Sherlock Holmes and his Criminological Friends recounts the lives of the first members of this celebrated body of criminologists, including their escapades in detective work, changing the law and undertaking spying missions. Cases include espionage as well as major crimes and some stories involve famous or forgotten unsolved cases or mysteries. [...] Conan Doyle and the Crimes Club: The Creator of Sherlock Holmes and his Criminological Friends reveals the Edwardian world of gentleman sleuths and their investigations and adventures, all to be recalled over a square meal and good cigar." (<http://www.amazon.co.uk/Conan-Doyle-Crimes-Club-Criminological/dp/1781551944>; lesedato 04.12.13)

Forfatter og eks-politimann Jørn Lier Horsts faktabok *Kriminalteknikk* (2008) – i serien *Vitenskapsbiblioteket*, rettet til barn og ungdom – handler om "etterforskning, fingeravtrykk, dna-profil, blodspor, likskue, arnested, skuddåpning, gjerningsmenn. [...] Politimannen Jørn Lier Horst tar oss med til åstedet, bak sperringene og inn i laboratoriet for å vise oss hvordan forbrytere opererer og politiet avslører dem. Med eksempler og bildemateriale fra kjente etterforskninger, som Orderud-saken, Øksemordet og drapet av ismannen Ötzi." (<http://www.bokkilden.no/>; lesedato 18.02.16)

"Med den klassiske dokumentarfilmen *The Thin Blue Line* (1988) står filmskaper og forfatter Errol Morris som noe av en arketypisk skikkelse. Før han ga seg filmmediet i vold, arbeidet han som privatetterforsker, og denne filmen utgjør et slags vannskille: Her avdekker Morris et justismord, og lykkes både i å få den

uskyldig dømte mannen frikjent og en annen til å tilstå udåden.” (Bernhard Ellefsen i *Morgenbladet* 17.–23. juli 2015 s. 29)

Andrew Jarecki m.fl. lagde TV-serien *The Jinx: The Life and Deaths of Robert Durst* (2015) som “undersøker de tre drapssakene den nå 72 år gamle mannen har vært mistenkt i. Hans første kone forsvant i 1982, i 2000 ble en god venninne av ham funnet brutalt drept i California samtidig som Durst var i området, og året etter skjøt og parterte (!) han en nabo, men ble oppsiktsvekkende nok frikjent fordi juryen mente at han hadde handlet i nødverge. Gjennom en rekke intervjuer med involverte i sakene, og ikke minst med Durst selv, samt nitid gjennomgåelse av beviser og dokumenter, viser Jarecki konsekvensene av slurvete politiarbeid og den mistenktes ubegrensede tilgang til økonomiske ressurser. I et nesten ufattelig klimaks ble Durst arrestert kvelden før den siste episoden i serien ble sendt på amerikansk tv. Der konfronteres han nemlig med et nytt og nokså utvetydig bevis Jarecki har funnet. Forstyrret av denne overraskelsen går Durst på toalettet, hvor han – tilsynelatende intetanende om mikrofonen han har på skjorten – mumler for seg selv: “There it is. You’re caught. [...] What the hell did I do? Killed them all, of course.” Med det ender serien, og Durst sitter i saksa. En av dem som hadde etterforsket Durst i forbindelse med konas forsvinning, uttalte at Jarecki lyktes der “politiet har mislyktes i tretti år”. [...] I sin anmeldelse av *The Jinx* skrev nevnte [Emily] Nussbaum at true crime nå utgjør en slags andre ankeinstans i det amerikanske rettsvesenet.” (Bernhard Ellefsen i *Morgenbladet* 17.–23. juli 2015 s. 28-29)

“Virkelighetskrim (*True crime*) ruller med enorm kraft gjennom underholdningsindustrien verden over. [...] I virkelighetskrim-sjangeren, som i forskningen, må kompleks empiri filtreres av teorier og hypoteser. “Rene observasjoner” finnes aldri. [...] Det er ingen urimelig påstand: Virkelighetskrim bidrar til fortolkninger av sosiale problemer og til å etablere livskraftige typologier av kriminelle. “Seriemorderen” henter fortsatt materiale fra “Jack the Ripper” i London, med pervertert lyst og klasseforskjeller som viktigste ingredienser. I den strålende tv-serien *Mindhunter* videreutvikles seriemorder-typologien gjennom de to FBI-agentene som etablerer en ny enhet for adferdsvitenskap i 1977. De vil erstatte FBI-lederen J. Edgar Hoovers banale ideer om at kriminalitet begås for vinningen skyld. Her handler det snarere om seksualitet på ville veier. Serien er tett på virkeligheten og den nye kriminologisk-psykologiske forskningen som utvikles på slutten av 1970-tallet. [...] Virkelighetskrim fungerer når den legges i en historisk kontekst som den kan gi nye fortolkninger av.” (sosiologiprofessor Willy Pedersen i *Morgenbladet* 16.–22. mars 2018 s. 48-49)

“Once a guilty pleasure associated with rubberneckers [= kikkere] and cheap, gory magazines, true crime has “moved out of the gutter”, says Jean Murley, author of *The Rise of True Crime: 20th-Century Murder and American Popular Culture*. “It hasn’t necessarily become highbrow entertainment, but it has a lot more cultural cachet [= prestisje, status]. People aren’t ashamed of liking it the way they were 10

years ago.” [...] There’s a limitless amount of material. [...] Should it all be used, though? These aren’t just stories – they are real people’s lives. No matter how tastefully it is done, is it not unethical to transform personal tragedies into public entertainment?” (Arwa Mahdawi i <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2018/oct/16/making-a-murderer-is-our-obsession-with-true-crime-turning-nasty-serial>; lesedato 27.05.19)

Investigation Discovery er en amerikansk TV-stasjon som ble lansert i 1996. Programmene er i all hovedsak dokumentarfilmer om reelle krim saker. “Investigation Discovery becomes top cable channel for women [i 2015] with true crime all the time [...] It’s a grim lineup. Husbands killing wives, wives stabbing husbands, murderous lovers, along with stalkers, kidnappers and serial killers past and present. Brenda Boyd of Austin, Texas, can’t get enough of it. She’s a self-proclaimed “ID [*Investigation Discovery*] addict,” referring to the hard-core fans of mystery and crime cable network Investigation Discovery. [...] ID finished the fourth quarter of 2015 as the most-watched ad-supported cable network among women ages 25 to 54 [i USA], according to Nielsen data. In prime time, the channel had an average of 897,000 viewers overall, up 10 % from 2014. [...] The channel has grown internationally as well, reaching 163 markets around the world. [...] ID chooses to keep it simple, with criminal investigations boiled down to their just-the-facts-ma’am essence and mixed with a generous helping of emotional recollections of the victims. Every case depicted has been adjudicated and resolution comes at the end of an hour show. When one investigation ends, another begins. [...] Noelle Daidone, 40, a northern New Jersey fan, can vouch for ID’s allure. “My DVR [video-opptaker] is filled with ID shows,” Daidone said. “But when I’m home, even if I’m not totally focused on programs, I do have it on while cleaning and going about my day.” ” (Stephen Battaglio i <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/envelope/cotown/la-et-ct-investigation-discovery-20160105-story.html>; lesedato 13.03.17)

Investigation Discovery “may also be benefiting from the country’s mood. Violent crime has been on the decline in the U.S. since the 1980s. But stories unambiguously grounded in law and order provide an escape for viewers anxious about the threat from terrorism in a world that can seem out of control. “In an era when fear is prevalent, having identifiable good guys and bad guys is a comfortable thing,” said Susan Zirinsky, senior executive producer of the long-running CBS crime-and-justice newsmagazine “48 Hours.” “There is a need for people to be able to feel secure and herald a hero.” [...] The channel does its own original investigative shows such as “Deadline: Crime,” hosted by NBC News anchor Tamron Hall; “On the Case With Paula Zahn”; and “Killer Instinct,” in which former “Dateline NBC” correspondent and online predator catcher Chris Hansen profiles serial murderers. Many of ID’s original series use actors doing scripted reenactments of criminal cases and have attention-grabbing titles (“Wives With Knives,” “Who the Bleep Did I Marry?” “A Stranger in My Home,” “Your Worst Nightmare,” “Fear Thy Neighbor”). One series, “A Crime to Remember,”

dramatizes cases from the 1950s and '60s [...] ID's highest-rated show is "Homicide Hunter: Lt. Joe Kenda," featuring the case files of a laconic retired Colorado Springs, Colo., detective who solved nearly 400 murders in his career, drawing 1.6 million viewers on average. Most of the series have the participation of people personally connected to the victims. [...] It's a part of validating that 'This person was a part of my life, was here, and I want you to know what happened to them.' [...] ID premieres 650 hours of programming a year and with crime being a renewable resource, there is no shortage of material for new shows." (Stephen Battaglio i <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/envelope/cotown/la-et-ct-investigation-discovery-20160105-story.html>; lesedato 13.03.17)

"If you spend any amount of time watching true crime TV, you will quickly notice that the shows almost always involve one particular type of crime: murder. Often, too, the focus is on exotic, bizarre and especially grisly or disturbing incidents of murder. In the extreme, the tales of murder depicted in true crime TV shows involve the gruesome and notorious exploits of serial killers such as the late Jeffrey Dahmer, Ted Bundy, John Wayne Gacy (The Killer Clown), Richard Ramirez (The Night Stalker) or David Berkowitz (Son of Sam). The morbid stories of these prolific killers have become popular culture legends. [...] The public is drawn to true crime because it triggers the most basic and powerful emotion in all of us – fear. As a source of popular culture entertainment, it allow us to experience fear and horror in a controlled environment where the threat is exciting but not real." (Scott Bonn i <http://time.com/4172673/true-crime-allure/>; lesedato 08.03.17)

"My initial thoughts on why I would choose to spend so many hours of my life absorbed in these gruesome narratives is that perhaps I'm learning how to prevent them from happening to myself. I want to get inside the mind of a rapist and/or killer so I know what to look for [...] this is indeed the reason why some women watch true crime. It's thrilling to know that these stories are true and they happened to women just like us, but it's also very scary and we should view them as cautionary tales. And once the paranoia sets in it only perpetuates the obsession because we then feel compelled to keep watching so we're prepared for any situation. [...] I think the real reason we've become so obsessed with true crime is more about wanting to understand why the legal system works the way it does. Most of us have never even been in a courtroom, let alone a murder trial [...] A guilty or not guilty verdict might not matter in terms of gauging our interest in a story, but the ability to critically examine our country's justice system does. [...] We also need to understand the why. What circumstances could push someone to commit a truly heinous crime? It's more about a deep fascination with the human psyche than anything else, and this might be where the appeal to women plays a big part. Many women, whether by nature or by pressure from society, feel they must act as nurturers and caregivers with an obligation to be responsible for others. I think we want to understand how someone gets to the point of instability where they're capable of committing rape and murder. We can't fathom letting it happen to someone we know, or even worse, someone whose livelihood depends on us, so

we need to examine it from an outside perspective. But beyond the desire to understand the details of who and why and how, I'm also left wondering if the entire genre of true crime as a whole is just totally immoral. [...] as we inevitably continue to indulge ourselves, we must make sure we consider that real people experienced a significant loss in every single one of these stories. We must be respectful of that.” (journalist og blogger Molly Fosco i http://www.huffingtonpost.com/molly-fosco/is-our-obsession-with-true-crime-morally-irresponsible_b_9073196.html; lesedato 10.03.17)

Investigation Discoverys programmer “couches nonfiction retellings of murders, kidnappings, abuse, rapes, stalking, and other harrowing experiences alongside elaborate reenactments and personal statements from survivors, family members, investigators, witnesses, and experts. These shows depict the real-life manifestations of our deepest fears, losing ourselves or a loved one at the hands of a deranged maniac or, worse and more likely, a person we know. They dramatize – and sometimes over-dramatize – the strength and resilience of, mostly, women, in the face of unspeakable horror, in a 24-hour cycle, ordeal after ordeal after ordeal. Despite its macabre, endless, often difficult-to-watch stream of true tales depicting the evils of humanity – or perhaps because of all that – Investigation Discovery is one of women’s most-watched cable networks on television, becoming the third-most-watched ad-supported network among women ages 25-54 in just seven years on air [...] “It’s the old adage that truth is stranger than fiction,” says Pamela Deutsch, a Senior Executive Producer at ID, who worked on reality shows like *What Not to Wear* and *LA Ink* before joining ID five years ago. “The idea of relatable characters is something that’s really important to us, because I think that really speaks to why people really enjoy true crime: a lot of the people that we feature really look like your friends and neighbors. People just want to understand the whys. You hear all these stories in the news, and it just gives us kind of a desire to understand, like, ‘How did this person make that wrong turn? They look just like me!’ ” ID’s programming philosophy sits at the perfect intersection of reality television’s voyeurism, the realtime sleuthing of a mystery, and the dogged fact-finding of news journalism” (Julianne E. Shepherd i <http://jezebel.com/why-are-women-obsessed-with-investigation-discovery-s-g-1724662106>; lesedato 29.03.17).

Forfatteren Kelly Peacock har begrunnet at hun like true crime-dokumentarserier: “I like educating myself. I want to understand the world I’m living in, the people who are capable of these crimes, how I could protect or defend myself in a bad situation. [...] When we are watching true crime documentaries and docuseries, we’re challenging ourselves and questioning our beliefs on society as we know it. How do you spot a serial killer? How can you protect or defend yourself? Can you trust the justice system? Can you trust anyone?” (<https://thoughtcatalog.com/kelly-peacock/2019/03/here-are-8-true-crime-documentaries-you-need-to-watch/>; lesedato 27.05.19) “We know murder is bad. So why are we so obsessed it? We know we can detach if we need to. It’s like a train wreck – it’s painful, but we just

can't look away. In a weird way, it's comforting to know it's not happening to us and that distance allows us to detach, if need be. And in a weird way, we like being scared. That adrenaline factor is just something we crave. It's dramatic and society lives for drama, am I right? We like to get our brains going. We like thinking, solving a mystery or a puzzle, and being challenged one way or another. We always want to make sense of things we can't wrap our brains around. We feel prepared. Women in particular love true crime because it makes us feel prepared if anything were to happen to us and we want tips on how to survive. We are drawn to relatability. We know that, unfortunately, this is the world we live in and we need to know how to defend or protect ourselves if we are ever in a bad situation. We're fascinated with evil." (Peacock i <https://thoughtcatalog.com/kelly-peacock/2019/03/this-is-why-were-so-fascinated-with-true-crime/>; lesedato 27.05.19)

Investigation Discoverys programserie *Disappeared*, "traces the final steps of individuals before they went missing and doesn't always resolve itself, but leaves a lingering existential residue, encouraging a viewer's armchair crime-solving skills as well as a terrified acknowledgement that anyone, anywhere, could disappear without a trace. [...] Tawanna Johnson, an ID Addict from Tampa, Florida [...] "I pretty much would watch it all day every day," she says. "You can't believe that some of this stuff happens. Of course you watch the news, you read the paper, but you don't really realize how for-real it is. It keeps you on your guard – especially me being a single woman, it keeps me more aware to know what to watch out for. We know that this is real, and when they're reenacting it, it makes it so much more interesting to watch." [...] I want to know why. [...] *Deadly Affairs*, for instance, features reenactments of illicit love gone wrong narrated by daytime soap grande dame Susan Lucci" (Julianne E. Shepherd i <http://jezebel.com/why-are-women-obsessed-with-investigation-discovery-s-g-1724662106>; lesedato 29.03.17).

"From the most idealistic viewpoint, ID gives a voice to victims and their families, whose perspectives are often submerged in media coverage that tends to focus more on the warped minds of the perps [= perpetrators] than the people whose lives have been upended. [...] Some shows, such as *Stalked*, feature psychologists and advocates offering analysis into the minds of both perpetrators and targets. [...] true crime TV experienced a boom in the 1980s, with the rampant popularity of *Unsolved Mysteries* (1987) and *America's Most Wanted* (1988). The latter was launched with its own grisly backstory – it was hosted by John Walsh, who became famous in 1981 when his six-year-old son Adam was found murdered and decapitated, helping fuel that era's abduction panic and transforming Walsh into a lifelong victim's rights advocate. Among more science-based true crime shows, the excellent *Forensic Files* was one of the longest-running, most prolific, and unflinchingly gruesome true-crime shows, debuting in 1996, and airing its final new episode 15 years later in 2011. [...] the 1990s, when Court TV turned the Menendez Brothers and OJ Simpson trials into marquee events. In the early 2000s, the late investigative journalist Dominick Dunne's definitive show *Power, Privilege, and Justice* brought the unsavory crimes of the blue-chip crowd to Court

TV (now Tru TV) for a true-crime series inspired by the murder of his daughter; its sentiment lives on in *ID's Vanity Fair: Confidential*" (Julianne E. Shepherd i <http://jezebel.com/why-are-women-obsessed-with-investigation-discovery-s-g-1724662106>; lesedato 29.03.17).

"Women, though, are often incorrectly assumed to be uninterested in gritty procedurals and macabre investigative shows – but Investigation Discovery's popularity among women is more rule than exception. Crime fiction shows like *Law & Order SVU*, *CSI*, and *Bones*, like *ID*, all boast a majority of women viewers, and as early as 2008, universities nationwide were attributing the surging amount of women in forensics programs to the "CSI effect" of seeing women represented on television as scientists and detectives. *Snapped*, which depicts only women killers and would-be killers, is in its 15th season since first airing on the Oxygen Network in 2004, and special episodes focusing on famous killers like Jodi Arias and Yolanda Saldivar (murderer of Selena) have helped beef up its numbers among millennial women. Investigation Discovery, for its part, has a fairly robust roster of shows about women perps, shows like *Wives With Knives*, *How (Not) to Kill Your Husband*, and *Pretty Bad Girls*. Says Kim Cumms, who counts *ID's Deadly Women* among her favorites, "I think when we think of women, we think of mothers, nurturers. So to see a woman who's out there doing the killing simply because she wants to or because she had to, it's like, 'Wow, what pushes a woman to that point?' " [...] "It's not about fiction, it's about things that people have actually done. Not something that someone has invented. It's stories about everyday people who do incredibly bizarre and violent things," says Joe Kenda, a retired Colorado police detective who hosts *ID's* hit show *Lt. Joe Kenda: Homicide Hunter*. "The twists and turns, the unknown factor, gives people an opportunity to be an armchair detective in some way. But there's another fascination as well, and it's been true for 6000 years. People have gathered around the fire and looked at someone and said, tell me a story. If you can tell a story in an interesting way, you have people's attention. If it's a subject that fascinates, you have their *undivided* attention." " (Julianne E. Shepherd i <http://jezebel.com/why-are-women-obsessed-with-investigation-discovery-s-g-1724662106>; lesedato 29.03.17)

"Why do women read true crime? Well, men read it too, but mostly it's women who go for it. [...] women read true crime to:

- 1) Learn the motives and methods of murderers and to prevent becoming victims; some books contain defense tactics and escape tricks. [...]
- 2) Learn about the psychology of violence and understand the warning signs. (This is true, too. As Diane Fanning wrote in her latest, *Mommy's Little Girl*: "We want to know why, because until we do, we cannot do anything to prevent it from happening again to another child. We have to believe there is a way to prevent such a death, or we slide into an endless pit of despair. Our only hope is knowledge, awareness of the red flags that portend disaster and an ability to recognize the

warnings in real time.”)” (Laura James i http://www.laurajames.com/clews/the_true_crime_genre/; lesedato 17.04.18)

Amanda M. Vicary og R. Chris Fraley skriver i artikkelen “Captured by True Crime: Why are Women Drawn to Tales of Rape, Murder, and Serial Killers?” (2010) at kvinner som leser eller ser true crime, kan lære strategier for å unngå å bli ofre (eller tror de kan lære dette). Kvinnene kan også lære seg hvilke tegn de bør se etter for å finne ut om en mann er farlig/voldelig, og hvordan de kan overleve hvis de er i livsfare. Vicary og Fraley undersøker også antakelsen om at mange kvinner liker virkelighetskrim fordi sjangeren innbyr til empati, medfølelse og intens innlevelse. Sjangeren handler dessuten ofte om psykiske mekanismer og sosiale relasjoner, som kvinner generelt er mer interessert i enn menn.

Det har vært mye oppmerksomhet rundt kvinner som skriver fan- eller kjærlighetsbrev til seriemordere, eller gifter seg med menn som de vet er brutale eller har begått drap. En antakelse er at disse kvinnene har opplevd vold og overgrep, og identifiserer seg med menn som i likhet med dem selv har en voldelig bakgrunn. Traumatiserte kvinner kan føle et slektskap med menn som er psykisk skadet, ensomme, eller fulle av aggresjon eller angst. En annen hypotese er at noen kvinner har et “saviour complex” overfor mannlige forbrytere. Disse kvinnene vil redde mennene, gjøre dem til bedre mennesker, selv om kvinnen må tåle mye lidelse for (kanskje) å oppnå en slik endring hos mannen.

“Hybristophilia is a type of paraphilia in which a person “gets sexually aroused over someone else committing an offensive or violent act,” says Katherine Ramsland, PhD, a professor of forensic psychology at DeSales University and author of the book *Confession of a Serial Killer: The Untold Story of Dennis Rader, the BTK Killer*. [...] Because access to notorious criminals is pretty well limited, hybristophilia can manifest itself as relationships maintained via letters sent and received while the criminal is in prison. To be clear, though, it’s only hybristophilia if the non-criminal party is actually aroused by the idea of the criminal committing a murder or similar – just writing a letter to a prisoner or keeping in contact with someone you already know doesn’t count. [...] Notorious murderer Richard Ramirez, who received tons of letters while in prison. [...] How does it differ from say, a casual interest in true-crime TV shows? If you’re not sexually aroused by the sight of a crime being committed, then you probably don’t have hybristophilia. “The difference between somebody who’s just watching every one of these shows that comes out and somebody’s who completely addicted to it is obsession,” says Dr. Ramsland. “Can you get up and go do something else or miss one? Then you’re probably not obsessed with it. But if you form your entire life around seeing these shows and binging them and watching them over and over and identifying with the people in them, now you’re in an obsessive mode. But again, that’s not necessarily sexual. When it rises to the point where it’s sexually arousing, and especially if it’s the only thing in your life that’s sexually arousing, now you have a paraphilia ... a paraphilia is really about not just, ‘This is one of the many things a person does

sexually.’ This is their primary arousal stimulus.” ” (Eliza Thompson i <https://www.cosmopolitan.com/entertainment/tv/a17804534/sexual-attraction-to-serial-killers/> ; lesedato 27.05.19)

Amerikaneren Stephen Trombleys *The Execution Protocol: Inside America’s Capital Punishment Industry* (1993) “is the first book to examine with absolute candour what it is like to live and die on America’s death row. Over a year of intensive research, author Stephen Trombley immersed himself in the shadowy world of the capital punishment industry, embarking on an extraordinary personal odyssey that allowed him to hear of things, and witness scenes, that most people can’t even bring themselves to think about. The result is a shocking insight into the history and present practice of state-sanctioned killing.” (https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/313167.The_Execution_Protocol; lesedato 19.04.18)

“The long-established, strictly outlined position of the criminal within the crime narrative has led to where America stands today, with criminals narrating their own stories via Facebook, video, or other formats to be read after their crimes have been enacted and, at times, after their deaths. The central position of the criminal throughout crime narrative history, still clearly present within true crime, allows for this thinking: if I am a criminal, and I commit criminal acts, then the public will want to hear my story.” (Frost 2015)

Den engelske forfatteren Antony M. Brown har spesialisert seg på historiske krimdokumentarbøker om uløste gåter, altså om historiske “cold cases”. Eksempler er *The Green Bicycle Mystery: The Curious Case of Bella Wright* (2017) og *Move to Murder* (2018). I likhet med de klassiske Ellery Queen-bøkene vil Brown gjerne gi sine lesere en intellektuell utfordring, og opprettet derfor nettstedet <http://coldcasejury.com/>. Dette fungerer som reklame for, men supplerer også Browns bøker, for nettstedet består av “saksmapper” som skal gi leserne en reell mulighet til å gjøre seg opp en mening om hvem som er de skyldige og uskyldige i de uløste sakene. Personbeskrivelser, skisser av åsteder, kart osv. gir grunnlag for at leseren kan bli Browns “med-detektiv”. Leseren får sitte i Browns “Cold Case Jury” og delta i det forfatteren på nettstedet kaller “the first truly interactive crime tales”.

Nettstedet websleuths.com rommer “a dedicated forum for internet detectives. [...] A small but dedicated group of people worldwide now spend their spare time trying to assist the police and solve other mysteries by trawling through social media profiles, scouring online high school yearbooks, sifting through coroners’ photographs – and more. [...] You had average, everyday, normal people going on websites and solving crimes that the police have never been able to. [...] Websleuths is far from the only example of a community of internet detectives. There’s also the amateur-run *Doe Network*, which as well as the US, lists cases from Mexico, Canada and the UK, for example. Sites like these helped pave the way for the launch in 2008 of *NamUs.gov*, a missing and unidentified persons system which is overseen by the US National Institute of Justice. It allows anyone

to search for and contribute to open cases. NamUs claims that so far there have been 309 unidentified persons cases and 708 missing persons cases which have been “NamUs Aided”. [...] Forums such as *Reddit’s Bureau of Investigations* (RBI) and *Unsolved Mysteries* are just two more examples of places where internet detectives gather daily. [...] For Deborah Halber, author of a forthcoming book on internet detectives called *The Skeleton Crew* [2014], it’s this mixture of intuition and careful data analysis that enables amateurs to solve long-dormant missing persons cases [...] When asked what she thinks motivates internet detectives, she suggests that solving mysteries could simply be a way for people to engage abilities they can’t use in their day jobs.” (Chris Baraniuk i <http://www.bbc.com/future/story/20140501-meet-the-bedroom-detectives>; lesedato 05.04.19)

“The Borowitz Collection is the greatest private true crime library ever amassed. [...] true crime publications tend to be as short-lived as their subjects. Recognizing their value, Albert Borowitz, one of the great true crime historians and connoisseurs of this age, spent decades of his life amassing the largest known private library in the theme, a collection of true crime books exceeding ten thousand volumes, some going back to the 1600s. In doing so, the multilingual American lawyer managed to save generations of stories from several continents, rescuing many books and hundreds of old crime broadsides from extinction, with no other copies left in existence. [...] Included in his collection are more than 250 volumes on the eternal mystery of Jack the Ripper. Lizzie Borden takes up an entire shelf with more than forty titles to her name. Jesse James has sixty books, going back to 1880. The Praslin murder, a worldwide sensation in 1847, is here represented by twelve extremely rare and quite valuable books in both English and French. Other priceless, one-of-a-kind, historically significant treasures are too many to list.” (<https://laurajames.typepad.com/>; lesedato 11.10.19)

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